

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

(The Tiruvengadam Temple)

BY

SRI T K T. Viraraghavacharya,

*(of the Prathamācharya purusha family and past member
of the T T D Committee)*

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TIRUPATI

FOREWORD.



Our institutions are ancient and great. But our historic sense is incorrigibly poor. T. K. T. Viraraghavacharya is a pious Hindu, an enlightened citizen and an engineer who has retired after long and faithful service in his profession. He is a citizen of the holy place the history of which he has compiled after laborious enquiry and investigation in a spirit of religious duty. He is a scion of one of the Acharyapurusha families of the renowned temple *i.e.*, his ancestor was recognised as one among those entitled to special honours at ceremonies of worship done in the temple. His ancestor must have been a good and pious devotee, otherwise Sri Ramanuja would not have recognised and put him in warrant of precedence.

Unless we learn to love and revere the great institutions of our country and those who built them we shall be scattered in the dust.

MADRAS, }
21-12-1952.)

(Sd.) C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.



INTRODUCTION.

The History of Tirupati by the late Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, published by the Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanams Committee, dealt with the setting in which the sacred Temple of Sri Venkateswara existed under the administration of Hindu, Muslim and British Rulers. Such mention as was possible was made, therein, of the various costly endowments and gifts to the Temple. In the present work, the author deals, in addition, with the religious, social and economic aspects of the Temple, the evolution of the norm of worship and its effect on the worshippers.

The author traces the changes that have occurred in the norm of worship pari passu with the development of the metaphysical and philosophical ideas of the Upanishads as expounded by Sri Ramanuja. He also traces how the Tamil Prabandhams came to find a place in the ritual, even though worship in all Vaishnavite temples were exclusively governed by the appropriate Agamas. In separate chapters, he deals with

how food offerings came into existence as part of ritual, how endowments for the purpose were made, abused and attempted to be set right, the structural development from a one-room Koyil-Alwar to a huge Temple, the form of the Murti and the authorities therefor, and, when and how other idols were installed there. The temples of Sri Govindaraja and Sri Ramaswami and other shrines at Tirupati have been presented to the reader in detail together with the manner and reasons for their affiliation with the main Temple of Sri Venkateswara

A separate chapter is devoted to a retrospect of the Temple administration from ancient times setting out lucidly and cogently the manner in which the Temple was managed originally by the Sri-karya-karta appointed by the Pallava Kings, then by the Sabhaiyar constituted by the village assembly of Tiruchanur during the period of the later Pallava and Chola Kings, thereafter, by the Sthanattar appointed by the Yadavarayas; and how after the Yadavarayas, the Sthanattar divided themselves into two units, one for the secular and the other for the religious administration of the Temple until it passed into the hands of the Nawab of Arcot

INTRODUCTION

The author has devoted four separate chapters to the development and zenith of the Temple, the increase of food offerings and festivals and consolidation of the religious community during the Vijayanagar reign *i.e.*, from the time of Saluva Narasimha to Sadasivaraya and the Aravidu Kings.

Separate chapters have also been devoted for the Agamas and the Alwars and Acharyas. The author's presentation of the several forgotten portions of the Agamas is original and will dispel the general impression that temple worship is merely pantheistic.

The work is very original and the author's deep study, of not only the inscriptions but also of the various sacred texts, has resulted in giving a rational explanation of the various, and even minute, details of worship and endowment, the interconnections of which have been forgotten or rendered oblivious through the dim vista of distant centuries. I trust this will be the first in the line of such thought provoking works in respect of religious institutions and hope that managements of other such institutions will have all their historic records collected and presented by competent persons to the worshippers.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

The author is eminently fitted to have undertaken this work and he has done it in a way worthy of the great traditions of his family and of his personality. It is his life mission and he has placed the world under great gratitude. At this age that he should have attempted this task and finished so well speaks volumes of his sincerity and devotion to this task.

MADRAS, } (Sd) K VENKATASWAMI NAIDU
2-2-1953 }

PREFACE.

At an age past seventy, while I was compiling a table of latitudes and longitudes for various places in India, the Will of God slowly instilled into me the idea of writing this book on the famous temple of Tirupati or Tiruvengadam. While I was attempting to find out from ancient inscriptions the chronological methods of recording the dates and the changes in such methods from time to time, I referred to the Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions published in six volumes. Going through the first of the volumes, the polished language and the deep piety in which some of them were couched evoked my interest in the higher aspect of the subject matter of the same. Particularly, the imprecation in Inscription No. 8 in Vol I caught my imagination. The devout Princess Samavai, in making endowments to the Silver Murti of Bhoga Srinivasa installed by her in 966 A D, says "Both the feet of those who protect this Dharma shall for ever be adornments to my head" and appeals to Sri Vaishnavas in particular to protect the charity. This is in very inspiring relief to the other inscriptions relating to later foundations of charity in referring to which the donors invoked curses on those who disturb them saying "Those who disturb this charity shall be incurring the sin of having slaughtered a hundred cows in Kasi". The inspiration produced by the love of mankind, the piety and humility of no less than a Princess of the time can only be felt. Such was the height of culture of our mothers and fathers in ancient India much of which has been lost but which, I dare say, could still be revived.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Thus inspired in my quest I could not find any work dealing with the structural religious ritualistic, economic administrative and social developments of the temple. I have, therefore in my humble way traced in this book how from probably an open wooden structure as might be inferred from Kulasekhara Alvar's songs the temple has developed by stages of a single room stone structure which was thereafter reinforced by a wall outside into its present size and magnificence how Samavai installed the silver Murti of Bhoga Srinivasa with the resultant increase of worshippers how the Vaikhanasa Agamic form of worship yielded itself to the present form from the time of Ramanuja, how social equality was put into practice and achieved to a great extent by the adoption of Nammalvar's Tiruvolmoli during religious gatherings and festivals inculcating the Bhakti form of worship, how the taxation policy of the state was framed from time to time with a view to develop the temple and the cult it stood for with particular reference to the taxes that existed how food offerings were introduced tackling successfully socio-economic problems, how endowments were conceived founded and administered by various classes of people at various stages of development with various objects how the administration passed by stages from state control to popular control from the Madaptyadar appointed by the King to the Sabhaiyar or committee chosen by the King and later to the Sthanattar chosen by persons interested in the institution and the shape things took up to the present day through the Muslim and British rule.

PREFACE

In order to set forth the structural and ritualistic significance of the temple, I had to study the Agamas in their original as there is no work dealing with the subject in any of the popular languages I have endeavoured to present in English, with as much detail as possible, the significance of the Agamic forms in a separate chapter Likewise, I have devoted separate chapters for the Alwars and Acharyas and their influence on the Temple and on the spread of Srivaishnavism In separate chapters, I have dealt with the historical connection of the various rulers of the land with this Temple.

I am grateful to the Lord who enabled me to complete a work which, from its nature and volume, would have been too formidable to attempt at my age, with decaying health and an eye-sight which has almost failed In writing this work, the one thing I tangibly felt is that, if He wills nothing is impossible. He gave me the steadfastness energy, eye-sight and the willing and affectionate co-operation of eminent men and good friends who never felt tired to give me suggestions and some of whom sat for hours with me doing tiresome work. I shall be failing in my duty if I do not specially thank Dr B S Baliga, the Curator, and Sri M. C. Subrahmanya Iyer, the Assistant Curator, Madras Record Office, for the advice and suggestions they gave me from the time I began this work. I have also to thank the Hon'ble Justice Sri P. V. Rajamannar, the Hon'ble Justice Sri P. Rajagopalan and Sri V. K. Narasimhan of the Hindu for reading through the first draft of the book and

giving me encouraging advice I feel highly grateful to Sri O Rajagopalachariar, the Chief Minister of Madras, and Sri K. Venkataswami Naidu Garu the Minister for Endowments, to the former for the Fore word and the latter for the Introduction to this book. The Members of the T T Devasthanam Committee with Sri Venkataswami Naidu Garu as the President have encouraged me by taking it as a Devasthanam publication. The present Board of Trustees and their Chairman, Sri V S Thyagaraja Mudaliar have evinced keen interest in getting the work completed. Sri C Anna Rao Garu the very energetic and talented Executive Officer of the Devasthanams has been continuously taking deep interest in the publication without which it could not have been completed so early. My thanks are also due to Sri Parthasarathy Bhattacharya for reading through the chapter on Temples and Agamas and giving useful suggestions. Sri D T Tatacharya, M.O.L., has not only been going through the proofs carefully and giving valuable advice but also has been seeing to my properly interpreting the Siddhantha aspect of temple worship. Sri T R. Narasimhan B.A., the Superintendent of the T T D Press has been largely responsible for having the work executed in the press and for getting the blocks of the drawings and pictures carefully prepared. Sri P Chenchu ramiah, the Devasthanam Draftsman prepared the important drawings and the tracings for making the blocks. My sincere thanks are due to them. Lastly, I have to say that no thanks can adequately express my deep debt to Sri M. Narasimhachariar Assistant Public Prosecutor Chittoor for sparing continuously a portion of his valuable time for correcting my manuscripts giving instructive suggestions and in short, for dealing with this work as his own.

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ERRATA.

Page	Line	For	Read
3	12	Butit	But it
12	3	Souise	source
13	4	Concocted	devised
15	29	nonth ef the	north of the
16	8	Tirtham	Tank
18	30	Terumala, Hills	Tirumalai Hills
19	30	october	October
27	17	Asutic	Asiatic
35	7	Gazettee	Gazetteer
37	4	and	in
39	28, 29	(Pancha) ratnas	(Pāncha rātras)
40	8	immage	image
40	28	Hil	Hill
45	29	deafering	deafening
46	29	unsurpessable	unsurpassable
52	26	Māvali Vāna	Māvali Vāṇa
		Rāyas	Rāyas
54		add as F No. 2	see, appendix for
		extrat from Silappadhikāram	
54	26	the moon	the Moon
60	3	underworld	underworld
		tuntras	tantras
61	16	Gratest	greatest
61	18	Tirukkōilūr	Tirukkōḷūr
62	15, 16	Tirumanḍarak- kudī	Tirumanḍaṇkudī
63	14	Bhakte and Love	Bhakti and Love

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Page	Line	For	Read
67	5	Nammlvars	Nammalvars
68	16	practioethe	practice the
69	12	descriptien	description
70	25	Nārāya Himself	Nārāyaṇa Himself
71	24	of this worlds	of this world
71	29	lessor gods	lesser gods
72	20	solem	solsmn
72	30	ceases	cease
91	6	Madhvadesar	Mādhāva dāsar
98	15	deleṭe and his grandson Tirumalai namī	grandson Tirumalai
	16	were the Sri Vaishnava leader	was the Sri Vai shnava leader
99	17	18 contributed	contributed
102	6	1409 A D	1359 A D
103	7	Aliya Rama Raya	Aliya Rama Ray
103	22	intaot	in tact
104	16	in the name of	for the purpose
104	19	grate ness	greatness
107	25	the note attached to this chapter	the appendix to this volume
115	11	செருந்தவரை	செருந்தவரை
115	13	பெருந்தவரை செருந்தவரை	பெருந்தவரை செருந்தவரை
117	22	Tiruchchobnūr	Tiruchchōkinūr
131	5	tempe	temple
135	14	at the end of this chapter	as Appendix to this volume

ERRATA

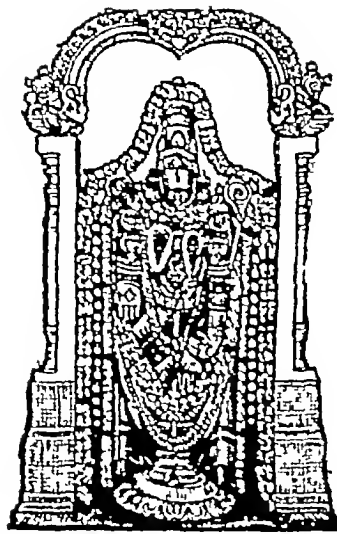
Page	Line	For	Read
151	30	as an Appendix	in a separate chapter
171	10	'and these will be given later'	'which are not being observed strictly'
173	30	censequently	consequently
175	26	north-east cori- ner	northeast corner
193	20, 21, 22	"So much impor- tance is not attached even to the Sri Sa- thari of Sri Venkateswara	"So much impor- tance is not attached by these man even to the Sri Sa- thari of Sri Venkateswara
194	12	hight	height
197	26	in different colours	in different shades
	27	red colour	dark colour
	29	hatched in red	hatched
199	16	thikness	thickness
„	21	caluclation	calculation
200	21	construting	constructing
201	18	Parton Deity	patron Deity
216	22	reeson	reason
After page 220 the numbering given 121, 122, 123, 124 should be correc- ted as 221, 222, 223, 224			
229	20	af observing	of observing

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Page	Lane	For	Read
232	22	Kausika Pura nam	Kaisika Pura nam
255	5	Divine will	Divine Will
284	13	Tirukkurukaip piran	Kurukaikkaval appan
323	21	consecrated	consecrated
356	26	therefore	therefor
370	10	Vaṇsathogopa	Vaṇ Saṭhakōpa
374	3	Nerka	Nerku
389	5	Goddes	Goddess
408	25	munanja	munaia
423	12	Śrīsto Sthiti and Samharam	Śrīṣṭi, Sthiti & Samharam
427	29	Paramatma or His Sankalpam	Paramātma of His Sankalpam
453	2	that the each side	that each side
454	3	windowes	windows
455	2	could be to the south	would be to the south
459	29	well	well
460	10	Undavalli cane	Undavalli cave
467	4	fort of the Vima nam	foot of the Vima nam
467	10	11 archa kautuka	archa kanuka
476	4	Uttama Madhya ma & Adhama	Uttama, Madhya ma & Adhama
477	26	Ahama abhaha rika	Adhama abhaha rika

ERRATA

Page	Line	For	Read
478	29	changra	Chandra
480	16	lanty	lanky
480	23	Whil be one	will be that of one
485	9	Tiruvilankōyil	Tiruvilam koyil
486	28	Bhuvanaya	Bhuvanga
490	9	differant	different
492	17	ahakram	chakram
493	5	Dhanadīpa Adī- Varaha Nara- hari	Dhanādīpa, Adī Varaha, Nara- hari,
493	20	Anapayinis	Anapayins
494	20	delete foot-note 1	at bottom
495	70	Pāvakārjuna	Pāva kōrjuna
500	9	Jyesth	Jyēshṭha
506	5	aparahana	aparahna
509	10	few archakas	fewer archakas
524	23	Lastely	Lastly
542	3	Sthanattars and Sthanakas	Sthānattai and Sthānikas



REVERENTLY DEDICATED
TO
THE FEET OF SRI VENKATESWARA

IN MEMORY OF
SRI TIRUMALAI NAMBI

His faithful servant,
who unremittingly devoted the entire life
that He gave
to service at His Feet

BY
a humble descendant of his
the Author.

— o: —

‘Akhila bhuvana janma sthen a bhangādi lilē
Vinata vividha bhūta vrāta rakshaika dikshē
Śruti śirasī vidīptē Brahmanī Śrīnivāsē
Bhavatu mama parasmīn sēmushī bhakti rūpā ॥”

“ஈசன் வானவாக்கு அன்பன் என்றால் அது
தேசமோ திருவேங்கட தானுக்கு
நீசனே நிறைவொன்று மிலேன் என்கண்
பாசம வைத்த பாஞ்சடர் சோதிககே”.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

(The Tirumalai, Tirupati Temples)

CHAPTER I.

TIRUMALAI, TIRUPATI AND TIRUCHANUR.

Geography, Topography and Topology.

Tirumalai has always been known by its ancient name Vengadam (Tiruvengadam), and the Hill on which the Temple stands was known as the Vengadam Hills. Tirupati owes its importance to having been, from the date of its founding, a necessary adjunct to Tirumalai. Sri Ramanuja is said to have done this about the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. But the precise date cannot now be ascertained directly with any degree of accuracy. There was obviously a very petty village with a small shrine of Sri Parthasarathy Swami even before Sri Ramanuja's advent. There is, however, neither inscriptional evidence nor tradition about this Tiruchanur, known in ancient days as Tiruchchokinur and Tiruchchukanur, is more ancient than Tirupati, although it cannot claim the same antiquity as Vengadam. Chandragiri is another place about 7 miles west of Tirupati and about 5 miles south of the Hill; and the road from Chandragiri affords a second access to the Tirumalai Temple.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

A glance at the map usually attached to the M & S M. Railway guide will show that a meter gauge chord line from Katpadi junction to Renigunta junction and thence to the Gudur junction connects Tirupati with the broad gauge S W N W and N.E lines of that railway system all converging towards Madras. To follow the modern practice of locating places we may state that

Tirumalai is in Lat.	13°-41' N	Long 79° 21' E
Tirupati is in Lat	13°-38' N	Long 79° 25' E.
Tiruchchukanur in Lat	13 36½	Long 79° 27' E
Chandragiri is in Lat.	13°-35½'	Long 79° 19½' E

Tirupati is served by a railway station which is located at almost the south east end of the town. Tiruchanur has a railway station about two miles away from the village Chandragiri Railway station is practically between the Tirumalai Hill and the village of Chandragiri To reach Tirupati pilgrims have to change from the Broad gauge to the meter gauge at Katpadi Renigunta or Gudur

The traditional ascent to the Hill has been from Tirupati, crossing a series of seven hills or ridges by a pathway paved mostly with rough sandstone boulders, although in later years cut-stone steps were introduced where steep ascents and descents have to be negotiated Even this ascent has now become antiquated owing to the construction of a metalled motor road within the past ten years. While the ascent by foot along the old route would take 2½ to 3 hours the travel in a motor vehicle does

GEOGRAPHY—ASCENT, PATHWAY & MOTOR ROAD

not take more than an hour. The Government of Madras are now running daily a regular motor bus service for pilgrims from Madras to Tirupati and back. The old route is still being used by people who are too poor to pay the motor fare or who have taken a vow to ascend on foot. The foot path route is provided with electric lighting.

The old route entails more physical exertion and subjects pilgrims who are unable to walk the entire distance to the vexatious behaviour of the dholi-wallahs who are engaged to carry them. But it has the distinct advantage that the pilgrim has ample opportunity to admire the beautiful landscape presented to his view from various points during the ascent. " *The remarkable and highly picturesque scenery is due to the great mural scarps into which the massive quartzites beds have been worn. The quartzites are generally very massive and semi-vitreous in texture, and occur in thick beds, which often show but little lamination. The prevalent colours of the quartzites are pale greys and drabs, all weathering to shades of buff or pale orange. The principal lines of scarp face the south. In places we find bare walls standing vertically. " After the steep and arduous ascent of the first hill, the pilgrim approaches the big tower (Gopuram) known as the GĀLI GŌPURAM—which however came into existence only in 1628 as the gift of Matla Anantaraya. If from here the pilgrim turns back facing south, he sees laid out before him a fine landscape with the

1 Taken from the North Arcot District Manual

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Railway line and the river Swarnamukhi traversing the plains with a number of tanks dotted all over the road winding its way through and the towers of the temples in Tirupati and Tiruchannur raising their heads above the houses. To his left is the huge mass of quartzite blocks rising vertically

Walking further along he has an easy ascent with here and there level country to break the monotony. On either side there is rich vegetation. At the Avachari Kōna (or Ammayār Kānāru) he meets with a sharp descent into a ravine followed by a difficult ascent on the other side known as the **KNEE BREAKER** * hill. This ravine is one of the loveliest sights and the pilgrim rarely fails to halt for 15 to 30 minutes to enjoy the scenery and to refresh himself. Nearing the top of this ascent there is a small mantapam and shrine of Sri Ramanuja called Bhashyakar Sannadhi which has a tradition connected with it. The tradition is that it was at this mantapam that Sri Ramanuja daily studied under his uncle Tirumalai Nambi the various esoteric meanings of the Ramayana. It was also at this place that Sri Ramanuja was received by his uncle Tirumalai Nambi with all Temple honours when he visited Tirumalai after he was given the distinctive title of Emberumanar etc. There are a number of mantapams all along the route. There is also a deep step well the Muggu Bhavi. A little further to the left and away from the track is a structure called the

* முடிவாக முதுபுகை, மெல்லிய

GEOGRAPHY—ASCENT, PATHWAY & MOTOR ROAD

GHANTA MANTAPAM, where tradition tells us there used to hang a bell which would be struck as soon as Naivēdyam for Tiruvēngadamudayān was performed each noon. It was only after the hearing of this gong at Chandiagiri that Sri Ranganātha Yādavaīāya took his day's meal. Close to the Avāchārī Kōna there is the elephant path from the Chandiagiri side for elephants to go to Tirumalai.

Within the last half a century many coffee hotels have sprung up along this ancient path to Tirumalai. The disadvantage is that the pilgrim has to pass endless rows of professional beggars all along the route. Some fan you for a pie, some sing your praise for a like amount. There are men exposing to view their ugly sores some real and but many more faked. There are fakirs resting their body on pikes fixed into a plank of wood. Here are beggars of all types and all ages. If one has the patience one may make an interesting study of the common ways in which the human mind works and the depths to which poverty can sink a human being. Just before the Brahmotsavam, a regular caravan of these men gather on the hills. The poor house feeding has been an additional attraction.

The pilgrim who goes in a **motor vehicle** misses not only much of the beautiful natural scenery but also this study of human nature and its ways. The old route is all exhilarating, while the new motor route is all excitement, excitement caused by the too many hairpin bends and sharp curves. At every turn one's

attention is rivetted on ones safety and stability rather than on the scenery even if he can see it

Long before Tirupati had its birth **Tiruchchukannur** (the modern Tiruohannur) was a village of importance during the centuries of Pallava and Chola rule. It had a village council or Sabha which managed the affairs of the Tirumalai Temple also. It is about 2 miles south of Tirupati and on the banks of the Swarnamukhi River. The numerous spring channels excavated from time to time along its bed served to keep up wet cultivation in this area. It was practically the last point on the old high way (**Vadakkuvalli**) connecting the Tamil country of **Tondaimandalam** with the region to the north of the Hills known as the land of the **Vadngars**. But circumstances made it imperative that Tirupati should be made more important by artificial means such as making it obligatory for anyone having any dealings with the Tirumalai Temple to keep a house in Tirupati.

Chandragiri is the next village to demand notice. It came into existence at any rate into notice from the time of **Saluva Mangi Deva** the great grandfather of **Saluva Narasimha** and one of the Generals who served under the command of **Virakumarakempanna** during the campaign launched to shatter the Sultanate of Madura. This was in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. It grew into a big town with its fortifications and **Mahals** as the fortified town of the **Saluvas** and the

GEOGRAPHY—THE TIRUMALAI HILL

Vijayanagar Kings It has since shrunk in size and importance Where extensive mansions once stood there are green fields to-day. The old fortifications, the moat and the Mahals are today only relics of their ancient glory The Railway station is about a mile to the north of the village The stories connected with the place will be referred to later

From the point of view of the Temple, it is the **Tirumalai Hill** that should receive our attention in a larger measure The temple and the small village surrounding it are so situated that there are four recognised pathways leading thereto. We have already referred to those from Tirupati and Chandra-giri There is a third from Bālupalli on the east (Māmandur Hill Road) from near the Mamandur Railway station The fourth is from Nāgapatla side on the west There are other footpaths also such as the one from Karakambādi, which played their part in the 18th century and the forest path connecting Talakōna on the extreme west of the Hill to the Tirumalai Hill These can best be seen by a reference to the annexed map of the Hill

The Hill is but a part of the mountain range designated as the Eastern Ghāts It may be taken to start from the Anamalais in the extreme south of the Madras state and to traverse the Coimbatore District, the eastern frontier of Mysore territory, through the Salem and the present North Arcot Districts, before entering the Chittoor District at Palamaner It takes a direction somewhat east of

North up to the **Talakona Water Falls**, where there is a deflection towards the east till it reaches Tirumalai. To the east of Tirumalai it ends in a gap through which the M. & S M. Railway Broad gauge (N W) is laid. The length of this bit of the Eastern Ghats may be taken to be about 12 miles between Talakōna and Tirumalai as the crow flies. The actual forest path along the crest of the Hill may be about 20 miles. This portion seems to have been considered very holy from time immemorial. As evidence of this we see even today that the Kōna (water course) commencing from the Talakōna Falls on the extreme west is called the Papavinasam Kona. The water course on the eastern end is also called the Papavinasam Kona. This bit of the Hill in spite of indiscriminate felling is thickly wooded and contains valuable red saunders wood and other varieties used for building purposes. There are said to be rare herbs of medicinal value all over the hill and particularly in the ravines. The highest peak of the hill on the Talakona side is 3 583 ft. above Mean Sea level. Nārayanagiri Peak which is south west of the Tirumalai Temple is 3 622 ft. high.

The Talakona falls and the Vāgu seem to be the natural result of the wrench which the Hill was subjected to by the sharp turn from north to east. The level of the hill on the north is about 3,583 ft. east and south about 3 800 ft. The waterfall itself is at 2 650 ft. with a drop of 80 ft. The level country to the west of the hill through which the Ry line from Pakāla to Dharmavaram passes, is about 1,800

to 2,000 ft above sea level The hill has a sharp slope towards the plains There is a Siddheswara temple on the plains and close to the hill on the west This waterfall, being the first one on the hill, is known as the Talakōna Falls.

Intimately associated with the Temple of Tiruvēngadamudayān are two kōnas on the Hill One is called the Pāpavināsam (obviously the eastern one) and the other the Avāchān vanka. The former drains the part of the Hill which may be said to be to the north of the Temple and the latter the part to the south, rather south-east, of it Both are important on account of the many sacred Tīrthams thereon

THE PAPA VINASAM VANKA.—This Vanka has many rivulets as its feeders, draining the northern and the southern slopes. The annexed map will make this clear. Even otherwise the latitude, longitude and the height above M S L. shown hereunder will give an intelligent understanding of the course of the Vanka and the places where the sacred waters (Tīrthams) are met with Many of these are rarely visited by the ordinary pilgrim.

Tīrtham.	Lat. N.	Long E	Height
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Flowing from N.W.

Pasupu Tīrtham	... 13°-43'-30"	79°-19'-40"	2950
Kumāra Dhāra	... 13°-43'-45"	79°-19'-40"	2700
Rāmakṛṣṇa Tīrtham...	13°-44'-15"	79°-20'-45"	2250
Tumburu Kōna	.. 13°-44'-30"	79°-21'-20"	2250

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Flowing from S.W

Jabālī Tīrtham	13 -41 -40*	79 -20'-15"	3000
Ākāśa Ganga	13 -42 -05	79°-20'-30"	2700
Pāpavināsam	13°-42'-55	79°-20'-30"	2000
Sanaka Sanandana Tīrtham	13°-43 -40*	79°-20'-25	2000

(Note — The seconds given in Lat and Long are only meant to show the relative position of the Tīrthams)

The Hill here slopes from 3200 ft. to 2000 ft.

The most noteworthy ones are Tumburu Kōna, Ākāśa Ganga and Pāpavināsam

Thumburukona is a very interesting water fall in the east more easily approached from Māmandur Railway Station. Here is a canyon into which the water precipitates itself and then flows along a smooth granite bed with some extraordinarily deep circular pools at intervals, full of fish. The vegetation near the mouth of the entrance to the canyon is very dense and the scenery charming.¹ The tradition is that many Rishis used to live there. It is now a favourite haunt for tigers and other wild beasts. At one spot there is a cave which is supposed to lead to a secret passage to the temple. But what is more worthy of notice is the tradition that when the idol of Sri Ranganātha was finally conveyed to Tirumalai to avoid desecration by the iconoclastic Muslims during their invasion of the South in the early part of the 14th century the idol is said to have

¹ Taken from the N. A. District Manual.

GEOGRAPHY- THE PĀPĀVINĀSAM VANKA

been dropped down a deep ravine along with the beater and to have been worshipped there for some time. There is said to be a small mantapam in the middle of the watercourse which may have been the place referred to in the tradition

The Papanasam is a waterfall and pool about 3 miles from the temple. A bath there is supposed to cleans one of all sins. The ensuing water is supposed to get discoloured in proportion to the intensity of the sins committed. Tradition has it that Srīman Tirumalai Nambi used to fetch water from this place for the daily Tirumanjanam and worship of the God, until one day God tested the intensity of his devotion by appearing as a hunter and asking for some water to quench his thirst. When it was refused, he thrust an arrow and drank off all the water. The unsuspecting Tirumalai Nambi found the pot empty when he reached the temple. But he found that the God had also received his Abhishekam. When next he went to fetch water the hunter told the old gentleman that there was an equally pure water source much nearer and shot an arrow which touched the spot, whence the Akasaganga began to flow. Since then water is said to be brought from this nearer source. Tradition connects both Ākāśa Ganga and Pāpavināsam. So pilgrims go invariably to bathe in both these places.

The Pāpavināsam Vanka crosses the M. & S. M. Railway line at about a mile south of Bālupalli and 3 miles north of Māmandūr Railway Station.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

AVACHARI VANKA This Vanka at any rate the southern confluent takes its source from near the place where the old footpath and also the present motor road to Tirumalai cross it. It runs practically eastwards and crosses the M & S M. Ry. line (Broad gauge) after traversing Karakambādipalayam. It receives the waters from the Gōgarbham and the Vaikuntha Tirtham on the north and from the Sēsha Tirtham and Sitamma Tirtham on the south.

Tirtham.	Lat. N	Long E	Height
Gōgarbham	13°-41'-05	79°-21'-20	2500
Vaikunṭha Tirtham	13°-40'-40	79°-22'-0	2200
Sēsha Tirtham	13°-41'-25	79°-23'-20	1950
Sitamma Tirtham	13°-41'-55	79°-23'-30	2500

Bhūma Tirtham and Ālvar Tirtham are two distinct waterfalls on the Tirupati side of the Hill.

Tirtham	Lat N	Long E	Height
Bhūma Tirtham	13°-39'-20	79°-23'-0	2100
Ālvar Tirtham	13°-39'-20	79°-25'-15	700

These are the principal sacred waters on the Hill. It will be observed from the map that as in the case of Talakona Falls even here the waterfalls have been caused by the contortions to which the Hill has been subjected by the twist towards N.E. on the Venkatagiri side. The Tirthams are more numerous at the eastern end of the Hill. But at both the west and the east ends the sacred waters go under the name Papavinasam. This lends support to the traditional meaning attached to the term Vēṅgadam.

Garudachala Venkatādri Narāyaṇādri Vṛishabādri, Vṛishadri and Anjanadri. Each of these names is associated with some fable or other which in these days of enlightened views on religion need not be dwelt on at length. Some of these will however be referred to while dealing with old traditions relating to the sanctity of the Hill. In the inscriptions the hill is referred to only as Vēṅgadam or Tiruvēṅgadam down to the 15th century A.D

Topography of the Tirumalai Temple.

The earliest notion of the Topography of the place where the Mūla Mūrti or Dhruva Bēram was found standing (for He was not installed by any human hand) was that He was on the summit of the Hill or Uochi. This has to be inferred from the words used in Silappadhikaram —

உச்சையின்மேல் நின்றான் மலைமேல் தஞ்சியிருந்தான்

It must have been due to this notion that He was also named Uchchiyilnuran (He who stands on the summit) The rice measure for food offerings was also for several centuries known as the 'Uchchiyilnuran kal (the Kal or kalam of Uchchiyil Ninran) This notion appears to have persisted or was adopted as the legacy of tradition till about the middle of the 13th Century A. D. Owing to a better knowledge of the topography of the hills surrounding the temple the realisation that the temple was actually on a much lower level than its surroundings became more general in later

TOPOGRAPHY OF THE TIRUMALAI TEMPLE

days For we find in the middle of the 14th century that the processional deity had been styled "Malai kuniya Nīran" standing where the hill bowed low and the grain measure was also renamed Malai Kuniya Nīnān-Kāl We have no means of knowing whether the capacity of the new measure was any different from that of the old The Hill Temple measure was however always different from that used in the Tirupati Temple which was once called Arumōlidēvan and subsequently Chālukya Nārāyanan-kāl Although the term "Malaikuniya Nīran" appears in the inscriptions only from 1354-A.D we have every reason to believe that the real low level of the temple floor was known at least two centuries earlier This assertion is made from the fact that one of Periya Nambi's disciples had the surname "Malai Kuniya Nīran" which must have then been one of the appellatives of the God in Tirumalai. Periya Nambi himself was one of Sri Ālavandār's disciples and his birth is taken to be in 937 A.D. Malaikuniya Nīran's birth would have been some time in 980—90 It is not unlikely that he took part in the construction of the skeleton temple, when it must have been felt that the level was lower than the surroundings and that effective drainage arrangements were necessary That may account for the surname he got

To the north of the Temple the hills rise to 3426 ft, where there is a trigonometrical station. A little further near the Jabali Tīrtham the level is 3177 ft, to the east the hills rise from about 2250 to 2750 ft.,

to the south to 2920 ft and in the south west the Narāyaṇagiri rises to 3620 ft. These figures will give an idea of the hollow in which the temple is situated. No wonder that the place has been malarial. For water supply the small village around the temple depends on the pond called Ālvār Tīrtham which receives its supply from the surrounding country and the subsoil springs. A tank called Mūrtināyakan Cheruvu on the hill to the north west has so porous a bed that it retains very little water. The construction of a reservoir by damming up a part of the Papavinasam Kona and conveying water therefrom by conduits has now been undertaken.

The drainage of this low lying village of Tirumalai (the Temple in particular) is an urgent problem, not less than that of fresh water supply

TOPOLOGY

This short account of the Topography will be incomplete without its complement Topology. It is therefore being dealt with in brief. As a matter of fact topology has been in no small measure responsible for the immunity which this temple enjoyed, while almost all the others in South India were desecrated by the merciless hand of the Muslim invader. So long as the fate of the country depended on the rivalry and mutual jealousy of the Hindu Rulers there was no question of the interests of the temple being affected adversely.

TOPOLOGY

whoever became the ruler. We shall see from the inscriptions that each successful invader contributed his own share to the prosperity of the temple. The manner in which the topography of the country and the Hills made invasions by men of alien religious faith affect the fortunes of this temple will have to be briefly reviewed here. The success in this direction was also in no small measure attributable to the sagacity and ready wit of the people of Tirupati and those in the direct management of the temple. The quickness with which they comprehended the psychology of the alien invaders and the readiness with which they dangled before them a recurring revenue from the temple made the invaders realise that it was better not to cut the udder that yields an unfailing supply of milk.

It is worth repeating here that the eastern Ghats enter the Kangundi Zamindari in the south-west of the district, and passing northwards gradually bend towards the east as far as the Tirupati Hills. Here the range is broken by a long valley which passes northwards into the Cuddapah district by the villages of Karakambādi and Māmandūr. The M & S M Railway (N W line) passes through this gap. East of the Māmandūr valley, the Ghats once more rise, and follow a north-easterly course until they enter the Nellore district from the Kālahasti Zamindari. This range of the hills separates the Bālaghāt or Mysore plateau from the Pāyan Ghat or the low country.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Numerous passes lead from the lowlands to those above the ghats. The three more important ones are the Kallūr the Mogilī and the Saiyana Gunṭa passes. The Karakambādī pass on the eastern end is the fourth which assumed historical importance in the 18th century. There is also the Nāgapatla ghat road leading to Bhākarāpet which has some importance. All these can be seen on the annexed map of the Hille. These passes afforded facilities for invaders. The fortunes of the temple were not affected adversely until the Dāmalcheruvu Pass and the Karakambādī pass gave opportunities for the invaders to gain access to Chandraḡiri and Tirupati.

The Kallūr pass in the Chandraḡiri Taluk runs along the Dāmalcheruvu valley and through Kallūr pālayam to the Pilēr taluk. The Trunk road from Madras to Cuddapah runs along this route.

The Mogilī Pass is in the Chittoor Taluk and through it passes the road from Madras to Bangalore. The rise of the ghat is gradual. The Saiyanagunta Pass leads from Gndiyāttam to Palamanēr where it joins the road from Mogilī. The ascent is steep. The old route to Bangalore via Nāyakkanēri Ghat on the western borders of Gndiyāttam taluk is too steep.

Malik Kāfur's invasion of Southern India in 1310 A.D. although it carried fire and sword as far as south Rāmēswaram, did not in the least affect the Tirumalal, Hills and the surrounding country. Nor did the changing fortunes of the Chōlas, Pandyas, the

TOPOLOGY

Hoysālas and the Vijayanagar Kings make any difference to the prosperity of Tirumalai. Things however took a disastrous turn after the overthrow of the Vijayanagar Kingdom in the battle of Talikota in 1565 A.D. As the result of a treaty between Shah Jehan (the Emperor of Delhi) and the Bijapur Sultan, Vellore passed into the hands of Bijapur and Chandragiri was acquired by Gōlkonda in 1636 A.D. The next adventurer to these parts was Sivāji, who as the result of an arrangement with the Sultan of Gōlkonda, made an expedition into the Carnatic to recover from his brother Venkāji the possession he got from their late father Shahji. He entered the Carnatic by the Kallūr Pass in 1676 A. D. and captured Vellore, Arni and even Gingee. But he had to retrace his steps on an urgent call from his ally, the Gōlkonda Sultan. Sivāji proclaimed himself king in 1674 A. D. In 1684 A.D., we find an envoy of his turning up in Tirumalai as a devotee, and offering not cash, but a gold 'khanthi' for an endowment. Sivāji died soon after and Gingee was also retaken by Aurangazib's General, Zulfikar Khan in 1694 A. D.

Passing over the intervening period of history, we find Raghōji Bhonsle advancing in 1740 to the head of the Ghats and ready to descend along the Kallur Pass. Dost Ali opposed him at a spot in Dāmalcheruvu where the hills close in and an embankment across was got repaired for effecting the defence. Raghoji defeated the Muslim and slew his son. Raghoji is said to have retired from the Carnatic with

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a crore of rupees representing one years revenue. We know that Raghōji endowed Srinivasa with some very costly jewels which are still in existence. The turmoil in the Carnatic had as one of its results the assignment of the revenues of the Tirumalai Temple to the British Government in Madras. In 1753 an audacious adventurer by name Muhammad Kamal marched to Tirupati from Nellore (where he was engaged in pillaging and plundering) and the British got alarmed at the prospect of their losing the revenues from Tirupati. He was however captured and executed after a fight on the plains of Tirupati. Muhammad Kamal must have come by the Karakam bādi Pass.

In 1757 the Maharatta General Balavant Rao crossed the plateau of Mysore and camped at Kadapanattam at the head of the Kallapulla ghat in Palamanēr Taluk. He did not however turn his army against Tirupati, but scoured Vaniyambadi, Āmbur and Vellore. In the same year a party of Maharatta horsemen under the command of Gopal Rao came down the Kallūr Pass to Damaleheruvu and demanded of the British two lakhs of rupees as compensation on some grounds. When this was refused he is stated to have diverted his attention to Tirumalai to plunder the Temple. This however is hard to believe. He might have paid his obeisance and made some presents also. What was more likely is that the British who had called for his help would not reimburse him for his waiting when they found his help unnecessary. He would naturally have gone

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up to the Sthānattān, narrated the perfidy and secured from their hands, willingly perhaps, one year's revenue which was due to the British. Subsequently when the revenue was demanded they might have told the British that Gopal Rao plundered the temple. The true history of this temple can be written only after a careful study of the old records.

In August 1757 one Nazibulla visited the fort of Salava and threatened to take away the offerings made by pilgrims during the next Brahmotsavam. As the revenues of Tirupati were assigned to the British, they sent a detachment of the army to Tirupati to make sure of their revenue. But Nazibulla turned back as many pilgrims as he can, after perhaps divesting them of their belongings. In 1758 another brother of the Nabob, Abdul Wahab, made another bid for the wealth of the Temple. But the English were careful enough to foil this attempt. He however took possession of the fort of Chandragiri and waited for an opportunity. Bussy on his way back from Hyderabad halted at Tirupati and wrested from the lessee of the temple the year's revenue, while Nazibulla from Nellore and Abdul Wahab from Chandragiri helped him in this (October 1758).

The Maharatta Chieftain Gopal Rao who had been called back urgently by Balaji Rao left behind his Captain Narayana Sastri, who stayed at Karakambadi. In July 1759 with the help of the Pālegar, he ascended the Tirumalai Hill and reoccupied the temple. The English sent 300 sepoys and 15 Euro-

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peans. But it was found that only about 80 sepoys belonged to the caste which are permitted to ascend the hills. These went up and there was hard fighting before the temple and many lost their lives on both sides. A second reinforcement was sent. But even this contained mostly men who cannot ascend the hill so the English Commander Major Callhand attacked Karakambādi village instead and consigned it to the flames. Narayana Sastri had to retreat. The renter of the temple was reinstated by the English. The renter during these years under the Nawab of Arcot the French and the English successively was one Dorai Srinivasachari who considered it a sacred duty to outbid muslim competitors with the main object of preventing a muslim from having an opportunity to ascend the Hill.

When the Second Mysore War broke out in 1779 and Hyder drew a belt of destruction from Pulicat in the North to Pondicheri in the south and another belt of about a dozen miles radius round Vellore sacked and burnt everything inside these limits (Hyder Kalabhami) Colonel Baillie was asked to hasten from Guntur via Kalahasti and Tirupati. The Colonel considered this route dangerous and went by a route nearer to the coast. Thus Tirupati and Tirumalai were saved from fire and sword.

After the battle of Sholinghur in 1781 and prior to the seige of Vellore in 1780-81 Hyder was in person at the Kallūr Ghat to intercept supplies of grain going to the English at Vellore and was helped

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by the Zamindars of Kālahasti and Karvetnagar in this. The Poligars also were in league with him. So Tirumalai and Tirupati were left undisturbed. Muhammad Ali's brother handed over Chandragiri to Hyder. During the whole of 1781, although Sir Eyre Coote was within easy marching distance of Chandragiri he never did so. It was in the possession of Abdul Wahab. Coote does not appear to have been aware of its importance. In 1782 Hyder redeemed the Fort of Chandragiri and sent Abdul Wahab as prisoner to Seringapatam. Hyder died at Narasingarāyanpet near Chittoor, where his tomb remains to this day. It is indeed strange that he never allowed his men to ascend the Tirumalai Hill or to plunder the temple.

In 1791 Lord Cornwallis (Governor-General) himself took command of the army in the Third Mysore War against Tippoo, and feigning to ascend the Mysore plateau by the Nayakaneri Ghat, diverted his march at the last moment and passed through the Mogili Ghat.

On 31st July 1801, the whole of the Carnatic passed into the hands of the English. But the poligars of the Chittoor District continued to give trouble. These were driven into the jungle, but they continued to harass and plunder pilgrims going to Tirupati. The roads leading to Tirupati had to be regularly patrolled by a body of sepoy. Even martial law had to be proclaimed against the insurgent poligars.

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The Tirumalai temple passed into the hands of the English for direct management in 1801. The Moyne Jāpta of that period will show to what meagre rations the daily food offerings to Sri Venkatesa had been reduced at the time.

All these incidents are mentioned in a sketchy manner to show that the sanctity of the Temple and the Vengadam Hill was fully respected by the Muslims and the English alike in spite of the fact that the topography of the Hills was such that military operations were carried on time after time within a few hours march of the temple and right at the foot of the Hill itself. This topology of Vengadam looks like a fairy tale and adds considerably to the topolatriy of everything connected with the Hill and the Temple. History tells us more than all the fables depicted in the numerous puranas. What impression of sanctity this unique immunity from desecration would have created in the whole of South India and even in the Deccan South of the Vindhyas can best be imagined.

There is however another side to this picture which we cannot afford to ignore. The traditional sanctity of the Hill and the Deity thereon had perforce to be preserved by payment of an annual subsidy of about two lakhs of rupees every year. The old system of management of the temple seems to have gone out of use and a renter was appointed by the Nawab of Arcot to collect the revenues of the temple. The last we hear of the existence of

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Sthanattar was in an inscription dated 19th March 1684 in Telugu language and script, when Raja Sri Sivarāja Ramachandra Yādamātara Dabursa and Timmanayyengar made an endowment by payment of a gold kanthi and not cash. From another inscription dated 15-6-1638 we find that Sri Rangaraja Maharaya (with all the old Prāsastis of the Vijayanagar Kings) was considered the ruling sovereign. These inscriptions are in telugu which is the language of the country. We also find from the history of South India that as the result of a treaty between Shah Jahan and the Sultan of Bijapur in 1636, Bijapur and Golkonda became more independent and that by the year 1656 Vellore passed into the hands of Bijapur, while Golkonda secured Chandragiri. In the inscription dated 16-3-1684 the Sthānattār do not mention any one as the ruler of the country, which only means that they did not choose to recognise the Sultan of Golkonda.

When Asaf Jah set himself up as the Nizam of Hyderabad effectively in 1724, Daud Khan was appointed by him as Nawab of the Carnatic. The Tirumalai temple would in consequence have come under his sway. It must have been from about this date (1724 A D) that an arrangement was made by which the Tirumalai Temple had to pay every year two lakhs of rupees to the Nawab as subsidy. There was no molestation of the temple as a result. We find mention of this source of revenue when in 1753 Muhammad Kamal marched to Tirupati to plunder the temple and the British had to send a detachment

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to ward off the attack, since the revenues of the temple were assigned to the English under some arrangement between them and the Nawab

How was this amount to be made up every year? The renter had to devise a scheme for realising the amount and earn some more for his services. A levy was made on pilgrims who resorted to the temple. Before bathing in the waters of the Ālvar Tīrtham and the Swamī Pushkaranī every pilgrim had, according to custom to recite certain verses in Sanskrit which a Brahmin purohit would do. This right to dictate the mantrams was leased out and the lessee levied a fee per head. So also when according to custom a pilgrim wanted to have his head shaved in Tirumalai. When camphor had to be lighted a fee of one rupee was levied. For attending archana a fee of seven rupees and so on for every item of worship. When an ornament or cloth was presented to the deity for perpetual wear an amount equal to the value of the article had to be paid. This is called Varttana. When a food offering was made by a pilgrim an amount equal in value to the offering had to be deposited in addition to the cost of the food offering. Through all the centuries down to about 1750 we hear in the inscriptions no other sacred waters on the Hills excepting Ākasaganga and Papavināsam. Several new ones were made sacred and legends extolling the sanctity of each had to be manufactured.

Near the Gōgarbham Tīrtham there is a round stone known as Kshētra Pālā about which there is

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no mention in any of the inscriptions. It was made a place of great sanctity for settling disputes. Oath was administered at this place before lighted camphor to swear to truth and a fee (heavy enough) had to be paid to the temple to be allowed to do this. An iniquitous system for which there is neither traditional, sastic nor moral sanction was sedulously cultivated, which benefited the renter, the Nawab and perhaps a few of the temple functionaries. When in 1801 the temple passed entirely into the hands of the Court of Directors in England, this system was continued in its entirety. The renter system was abolished and direct management stepped in. The system which the English inherited from the Nabobs is told in full in an article published in the Asiatic journal for 1831 which is given as an appendix. The Gazetteer published in 1847 (Pharoah & Co, Madras) states: "The Brahmuns maintain that the Hindu Princes allowed the revenues from this source to be entirely expended on the spot in religious ceremonies and that the Mussalmans first appropriated the produce to their own use. During the early wars between the English and the French nations in India, this source of revenue was one of the first fruits of British conquest." How much revenue the English Government derived from 1804 to 1843 when in the latter year they had reluctantly to pass on the administration to a still more hungry Mahant, we have never been told. When the Mahants were cleared out and the T. T. Devasthanams Committee stepped in the iniquitous system

was continued as before nay the rates were revised to bring in more revenue The concomitant evils of subordinates influencing pilgrims in all manner still continues Is it not time that this enforced levy of fees for worshipping God is removed and voluntary contributions are made the rule? There will then be less of corruption and more freedom of worship for the penniless man and the multi millionaire alike We may scan the published inscriptions from end to end and fail to find even a scrap of evidence direct or inferential to show that at any time before the temple passed into the hands of Muslims there was any levy of fees for offering worship in the manner a pilgrim desired to do

The instructions issued by Lord Olive in 1800 A.D to the Nawab of Arcot in connection with the arrangements to be made for affording conveniences to Rajah Raghottama Rao one of the principal ministers of H H the Nabob Nizam ul Doulah Asafjah Bahadur of Hyderabad during his pilgrimage to Tirumalai are worth repeating in this connection They will clearly show that pilgrims were subjected to compulsory levies and were harassed Rajah Sri Mysore Tirumal Rao was deputed on behalf of the British Government to perform the duties of hospitality as if Lord Olive himself was present The temple was then under the full control of the Nawab of Arcot

(1) All offerings of dresses or jewels which may be made by the said Rajah to the Deity must be preserved in the wardrobe of the Pagoda dedicated

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to Balaji; and no person must prevent the Deity from being arrayed and decorated with the said dresses and jewels.

(2) You must not appropriate any part of the offerings which may be made by the Rajah to the Deity

(3) The said Rajah must not experience any kind of molestation or interruption in his devotional visits or in the festival ceremonies in compliment to the Deity

(4) You must select and allot a commodious and suitable habitation for the said Rajah and his followers. "

"It is likewise ordered that you do not demand any duty or custom either from the Rajah or any of his followers but consider them totally exempted from the same and treat them with utmost politeness " Lord Clive agreed with the Nawab of Arcot that he would himself bear the customs duties etc.

After his pilgrimage Rajah Raghottam wrote on 29-9-1800 to Lord Clive thanking him for all the kindness shown and added "Rajah Sri Tirumal Rao will communicate with you on the subject of pilgrims, and if you should be so good as to arrange the business, it would be beneficial to the Sarkar and the pilgrims " This extract delicately gives us a picture of the difficulties which pilgrims had to undergo in offering worship All the factors which contributed to the growth of such difficulties still exist

CHAPTER II.

The Sanctity of the Vengadam Hills and the antiquity of Tiruvengadamudayan.

In the last chapter it was discussed how the sanctity of the Vēngadam Hills and of the Deity presiding was preserved by those charged with that task during the period of the Muslim incursions and thereafter. We have now to enquire how and when this sanctity came into existence. Many are the legends connected with this and not one of these has any historical basis. We have known the well tried and familiar method which our ancient Rishis pursued in making the aspirant realise the Absolute Truth or Brahman. It consisted in a graded process of Nēti or elimination of what it is not. We have similarly to examine the legends to realise that they do not present the truth. Then something more appealing to the intellect and the heart has to be sought for.

Sanctity of the Hill—Legends.

Legends dealing with the sanctity of the Hill are distinct from those which deal with the sojourn of Viṣṇu from Srīvaikunṭham (His heavenly abode) to this Hill. We will first refer to those relating to this Hill.

(1) It appears that in the last Krita Yuga there lived on the Hill a Rakshasa by name Vriṣha

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bhāsura who did great penance near the Tumburu Kona waters on the Hill. When Sri Vishnu appeared to him and wanted to know his desires, he said that he did not care to receive any boon from Hari, but that he wished to have a direct fight to see who was more powerful. In the end, the Asura had to be killed only by making use of the "Sudarsana Chakram". Since then, the Hill came to be known as Vrishabhāchalam. Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇam is said to be the authority for this.

(2) In the Trētāyuga, there lived a lady by name Anjanādevi in the country round Pampā Saras (in the present Hampi of the Bellary District). Being childless, she did great penance on this Hill and the God of winds, Vayu appeared to her and blessed her with a child who was Hanumān or Ānjanēya. So the Hill got the name Anjanāchalam or Anjanādri.

(3) In the Dwāpara Yuga, when Sri Vishnu was with Sri Lakshmi and not-at-home to any one, the wind-God Vayu tried to enter the room which Sesha (Adi Sesha, the serpent who is His constant attendant) was guarding. The Wind-God was prevented from entering. This resulted in a commotion and Sri Vishnu himself was not able to settle the quarrel. They wanted to test who was the more powerful. Adi Sesha wound himself round Mount Meru and covered the mountain with his thousand-headed hood. Vayu began to blow fiercely with the result that the inhabitants of the three worlds felt

considerably distressed. So they approached Ādi Sesha and represented to him that the immediate reaction of their power test was disastrous to all others. To mitigate this they requested Ādi Sesha as the more amiable of the two to just lift one of his thousand heads for a second. He did this and lo! a portion of Mount Meru was blown away. And that bit alighted on the earth as our Tirumalai Hill. So it came to be known as 'Seshāchalam' since then. If this were true the legends of the Krita and Treta Yugas would be chronologically impossible.

(4) In the Kaliyuga our own age there lived in Kālahasti a very pious and learned Brahmin by name Purandara Sōmayāji who after doing penance was blessed with a son named Mādhava who although as learned as the father was lustful. He took a fancy for a chandala woman who was addicted to all conceivable vices and was to boot a whore. This Madhava gave up all rules of caste and lived with her happily for twelve years on the banks of the Krishna. When she died he became crazy, roamed about and followed a party of kings who were on their pilgrimage to Tirumalai. When he went up the Hill and stood along with the others in front of the temple (or God we are not sure) a horrible stench arose from his body and all the Devas came there to find out why. All of a sudden there shot up a fire enveloping his body and his sins were all burnt away. So the Hill came to be known as Venkatachalam (the Hill which burns away all sins). But great Sanskrit scholars have not even to

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this day been able to derive this meaning etymologically for the word Venkata. It was prophesied or blessed that this Madhava would be reborn as the illegitimate son of a Chola King and would rule over Tondai Mandalam Vāmana Purāna seems to be responsible for this story.

To make all these legends improbabilities, there is another legend which says that Sri Venkateswara made this Hill his habitation on a day 28 Mahā-yugas before the present one of which Kali is the last Yuga. One Mahā Yugam (according to the Purānās) is equivalent to 43,20,000 Mānava years and 28 such Maha Yugas have passed since Sri Vishnu came over to Tirumalai, *i e.*, 7,77,60,000 Mānava years. This is said to be mentioned in the Varāha, Vāmana, Bhavishyottara, Brahma, Brah-mānda and Pādma Purānas.

Legend as to why Sri Vishnu came over here.

It appears that Bhrigu Maharshi who wanted to see how each of the Trimūrtis was performing His duties, came over, after testing Brahma and Siva, to Sri Vishnu. He found the Lord in a posture of repose sporting with his consort. The Rishi could not bear the sight of the Deity, whose duty it was to protect His creation by keeping constant watch, sporting with his consort. So he gave a kick on His chest and that part of the chest happened to be the portion which was Sri Lakshmi's resort. Sri Vishnu enquired of His Bhakta whether on account of the kick, the Rishi's feet had received any injury

or pain Lakshmi got infuriated with her Lord for not punishing the Rishi for his misdemeanour but trying to pacify him. So she left Sri Vishnu who in turn left Sri Vaikuntham and came over to Thirumalai as the best spot on earth where He could spend his time. One day He chanced to sight a fair lady sitting on or born of the flower Lotus, (*Padmam, ஸுந்தரி*) and wished to marry her. She was the foster-daughter of the petty ruler of Nārāyanavanam Akasa Raja (in Puttur Taluk of this District). Being penniless he had to borrow a large sum of money for marriage expenses and dowry from Kubera the God of Wealth. He has been to this day repaying it in annual instalments to the rulers of the land till the British Government left the management of the Temple in the hands of the Mahants of Tirupati.

Then there is the story that the first Temple of Sri Venkateswara was built by one Tondaimān Chakravarthi who was the ruler of this part of the country in the early years of the Kali Yuga. The surmise of historical research workers is that the first Chola King of Tanjore Karikala had an extra marital connection with a Nāga Princess and the offspring was one Ādondai who founded Tondai mandalam and was known as Tondaiman Chakravarthi. Before he built the temple the Deity was covered over by an ant-hill and cows used to go to the top of the ant-hill and automatically empty the milk from the udder. It was only when this phenomenon was noticed that the ant hill was opened out

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and the discovery made. So according to this story of the Brahmānda Purāṇa, Tiruvēṅgaḍamudaiyan's existence was discovered only in Chola Karikāla's time, somewhere about the first century A. D. As against this, there is the statement in the North Arcot District Gazettee (1894) that there was a record preserved in the temple of the benefactions of various Kings of the past. The earliest entry showed that the second (inner) enclosure wall (Prakaram) was built by Parikshit Maharajah, and the outer enclosure wall (outer prakara) by his son Janamējaya. Vikramarka Maharaja made several improvements six centuries later. But according to the other legend the temple itself is said to have been built later on by Tondaiman Chakravarthi, son of Karikala.

There is also another book of fables called Venkatachala Mahatmyam, which came into being on palm leaves in 1491 A. D., and the author of which was one Pasindi Venkatatturaivar (a Brahmin Brahmachari doing service in the temple). It was allowed to be read in the temple with arulappādu (divine permission). Later it used to be read off and on at the request of donors. But after the middle of the 16th century, it seems to have gone out of use. We have nothing to show what really were the stories or fables included in that compilation. It is common knowledge how the readings in the Puranas used to get corrupted from time to time and from place to place. To the writer's knowledge, an important palm-leaf work dealing with Yatidharmam

(the rules of Sanyāsam), kept in the Fort St George about 60 years ago was tampered with by some eminent pandits. There is a common saying applicable to all Puranic stories which runs thus in Tamil "Indappoy Kandattilumillai (இந்தப்பொய் கந்தத்திலுமில்லை) This lie is not even in Skanda Puranam

Taking up the thread where we left off saying that the Mahants stepped into the shoes of the East India Company as the lawful heirs of Kubera to collect dues from the God of Tiruvēngadam, we find further developments in the legend. The Mahants were not the rulers of the land. Also the God stood only as the debtor discharging his debts in instalments. There must be more substantial ground to stand upon. The legend was coined that Sri Venkateswara played at dice with a great bhakta by name Hattiram Bhavaji who is presumed to have come to the Hill some time about 1500 A.D. Sri Venkateswara was pleased to lose the game every time. He first placed the temple itself as bet and lost. Lastly being at a loss to find anything else, He played His own Self as bet and losing the game became the servant of Sri Hattiram Bhavaji. That was adduced as the reason why in 1843 the East India Company had to hand over the God the Temple and all that it contained to one of Hattiram's disciples Sēvadasji. So the position of creditor and debtor was changed to one of master and servant. God has always been the most obedient servant of His Bhaktas. This fable was started probably in the first edition of the Venkateswala Mahatmyam

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in print To make this fable go about the country, several editions were prepared, Sanskrit text in Telugu script (1884), Sanskrit Text and Devanagari script (1887), Telugu Text (1896), Devanagari Script published in Bombay (1904), lastly Devanagari Script Sanskrit Text and Hindi Translation (1930) The last one contained pictures, the front page one being Sri Venkateswara playing at dice with Hattīlām Bhāvājī. To this last edition and its illustrations, an eminent Sanskrit scholar lent his name.

Regarding the unreliability of palm leaf and other works claiming antiquity and therefore truth, there are two which come to our notice One is mentioned in the North Arcot Gazetteer (P 325), "an old palm leaf book in the possession of one of the village-officers of Chandragiri" which stated that the Chandragiri Fort was originally built by one Immaḍi Narasiṅga Yādavarāyulu, one of the Kings of Nārāyanavanam in this district (999 A D.) He (Immaḍi Narasiṅga) "proceeded to Tirupati in order to visit the God and after accomplishing his object set about building palaces on the hills parallel to Seshachalaparvatam in sight of which he always wished to dwell" Mr. Cox the compiler of the Gazetteer then goes on to say that the ruins of the buildings upon the Adḍakonda Hill including a small fort are still in existence Then Mr. Cox recites a story that a kite carried off the Rajah's red turban mistaking it for a piece of flesh and dropped it on the Chandragiri Hill. Finding this to be a very good spot and a good omen, he built a fort and

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founded the city Part of the story is correct according to the inscriptions in Tirumalai It was Sriranganatha Yadavaraya who after the troublous period of Muslim invasion of the South by Malik Kāfur and Muhammad Tughlak, finally wanted to rest his war weary frame in Tirumalai and built a palace thereon about the year 1359 A.D But the founding of Chandragiri and the first building of the Fort has been recognized as the act of Sālva Narasinga Dēva Udayar and not Immadi Narasinga *Rayalu of Narayanavanam* Saluva's grand father Mangideva, may have shifted his capital from Kalyanapuram to Narayanavanam some time about 1370 A.D Saluva Narasinga Deva only built the fort circa 1450 A.D

The palm leaf goes on to say that ten of the Yādavarāyas ruled for 314 years after Immadi Narasinga and then the Vijayanagar dynasty took their place. The story told is that one Venkaṭapati Naidu who was left to guard the gate surrendered to Krishna Devarayalu on a demand made by him through a messenger So it was in (999 plus 314) 1313 A.D that Krishnadevaraya should have occupied the Chandragiri Fort, whereas according to history he ascended the Vijayanagar throne only in 1509 A.D In a further portion of the story Venkaṭapatideva Maharayar is stated to have died in Chandragiri on the new moon day of Bhādrapada in the year Nandana. This must be equivalent to 1592 A.D in which year must have commenced his reign

ing to later tradition, abstained from ascending the Hill to worship Him and Sri Ramanujā has been credited with having ascended the Hill on his knees may be all a fable. None of the Ālwars has stated that the Hill represents the body of Ādi Sēsha. The later day tradition seems to have been coined to explain the omission of the image of Sēsha in Sanctum. We find Nammālwar's shrine at the Ālwār Tīrtham where the pilgrim takes his purificatory bath and Periyālwar shrine is stationed at the place where the pilgrim commences his ascent of the Hill. These seem to have been started with a mystic or esoteric significance. The sanctity however consists entirely in the Murti being a Deity acceptable to all sects although the worship has always been according to the Vaikhanasa Agama, bereft of some of its offensive sectarian aspects¹ and not the Pancharatra which Ramanuja followed and which he introduced in almost all the other Vishnu temples in South India. So even the Vaikhanasas felt satisfied. Neither Sri Alavandar nor Sri Ramanuja did instal any of the Vaishnavite Ālwars or Āchāryas inside the Tirumalai Temple. It was only to Sri Ramanuja that a shrine was allotted by common consent. No further innovation was ever attempted. Therein lies the superior sanctity of the Hill and its temple over all the other and older temples in South India.

The reason assigned for this manifestation or Archavataram (form for idol worship) in the

¹ More will be said about this later

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daily rituals is that He is Mayavi.¹ His ways are inscrutable

He left His Vaikuntham and came down to settle on the bank of the Swami Pushkarini, on this Hill. Nothing more is said

The above sloka (verse) forms a part of the daily ritual called mantrapushpam. Seeing that the latter contains a verse² wishing prosperity to Sri Nammalvar also, it may reasonably be presumed that the slokas were composed when the present form of worship was formulated soon after the installation of the silver Murti now known as Bhoga Srinivasa in 966 A.D. But it might reasonably be asked whether the bare statement contained in it, that the Supreme Being left Vaikuntham and took his abode in Tirumalai without any reason being assigned can be accepted as truth when there are different stories in the Puranas implicitly believed by the public which assign different reasons for His manifestation here. The earliest reliable historical records are the devotional songs of the Ālvārs and the description given in the Silappadhikāram; and all these are in Tamil. Among these it is only Nammalvar who speaks of the sanctity of the Tiruvengadam Hill and explains the reason for the Supreme Being Parāṇ (பரான்) transferring His abode from the Heavens to this Hill. His Mystic

1 Māyāvī paramānandam tyaktvā Vaikuntham uttamam Svāmipuskarani tīrē ramayā saha modate, Bhōgirāja girim gatvā svāmipuskarini tate ramate ramanī kānte ramaniyē Śrīyaṣpatiḥ

2 Srinagaryām mahāpuryām Tambraparnyutteri tatē Tantrīnē mūla damne Sri Sathagōpāya maṅgalam

vision made him affirm that his statement (which obviously was also the current belief) embodies the Truth (244) The etymological meaning of the word Vengadam (245-burn, and 246 the fruits of past acts) is burning away the effect of all past Karma. This Hill, he affirms possesses that great virtue So God selected this spot for His stay on earth. His decision to reside in Vengadam is according to Sri Nammālvār for the sole purpose of affording facilities to earthly beings to worship Him in the same manner as and along with the Heavenly Beings headed by Brahma who are said to be doing here daily what they have been doing in Vaikunṭham Here in Vēngadam after His sojourn to the place the same Heavenly Beings share with us on equal terms the privilege of doing all manner of service which his bhaktas desire to do Nammalvar assigns a naive reason for the sojourn of the Supreme Being by citing two typical instances. When dumb cattle who live to serve human beings with their milk were threatened with destruction by the fury of pelting rain and biting cold He as Sri Krishna lifted up a hill and held it over them to afford shelter Again when one of the most highly evolved of human beings, Mahā Bali who was ideally just truthful and charitable was very nearly losing his soul by his failure to conquer the self although he had conquered the worlds the Lord out of his overflowing Love came unsolicited to save him by showing him that all his conquests and achievements fell far short of the small gift he

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was asked to make to the Lord. We in this Kali age stand between these two extreme instances. We are gifted with certain limited powers and with a desire to serve Him in the same manner as we are told that the Heavenly Beings (அரணவர்) do in Heaven. As we cannot go there and serve Him with this material body the Supreme Being has for our special benefit come over to Vēṅgaḍam saying good-bye to Heaven Vēṅgaḍam is Heaven, the Kaliyuga Vaikunṭham. All this is attributed to the infinite and unaccountable love of God (his Pāsam, ஸரஸ்வதி) Let us therefore go to Vēṅgaḍam where our Karmas will be destroyed and where we can do service to him such as bringing water for abhishekam, flowers for worship and dhupam (incense) and deepam (light) etc

Nammalvar does not refer to any Puranic story to account either for the Sanctity of the Hill or for the manifestation of the Supreme Being on earth His explanation is purely devotional Mysticism

Nammalvar's mysticism has been largely responsible for the form of worship which has been developed in the temple ever since Bhōga Srinivasa was installed It was after listening to the exposition made by Śrī Ālavandār of the ten verses (of the 3rd ten of the 3rd centum) in Tīruvoimoli that his grandson Śrī Tīrumalainambi just past his teens, made a solemn resolve, took his grand-sire's blessings and repaired to Vēṅgaḍam where he dedicated his whole life to the daily service of Lord Vēṅkatēsvara

in the manner recommended by Nammalvar in his songs. The same verses when explained by Sri Ramanuja made Sri Anandālvār repair to the Tirumalai Hill to keep company with Tirumalai Nambi in doing service to the Lord. (These verses are given at the end of this Chapter)

There is also a story in Chapter V of Mausala Parva of Sri Mahabhārata which may be taken to have some connection or throw some light on the Manifestations of the Supreme Being on earth to give a start to a new form of worship known as Archāvatāra. This form of worship supercedes the older ones viz Para Vyūha Vibhava and Antar yamī and has been recommended by God Himself as the one best suited for us in the Kali Yuga. Sri Krishna while departing his human body in the manner described in the Mahabharata exhibited to Brahma and the other Devas as well as Rishis etc. His real form with four hands, and Sri Devi seated on his right breast. Without going into details it may be stated here that Brahma and the others addressed him as the one bearing the bow obviously referring to his avatār as Sri Rama who killed Vali with the bow and who therefore paid for that act with his life as Krishna at the hand of Jara the hunter. The Divine Spirit ascended to the Heavens piercing the Solar Orb. There the spirit appeared to Brahma and the others as a stone image and simultaneously a voice from the Heavens proclaimed that He would appear on earth in that shape which while appearing to

be stony and lifeless would possess considerable (spiritual) power, that He would remain on earth thereafter and that Brahma and the Devas should continue their worship there. This incident happened at the end of the Dvāpara Yuga. At the commencement of the Kali Yuga His manifestation in Vēṅgaḍam seems to have taken place. The Image has Śrī Devī on the right chest. It shows Scars on both shoulders extending to the arm pit as if they were due to the constant wear of the bow-string and the sling of the arrow pouch. There are no other weapons, not even the Sankham and the Chakram. What is known as Brahmārāḍhanam (worship by Brahma) accordingly takes place every night and that Tirtham is served to worshippers the first thing in the morning during Visvarūpa sēva. The Deity was also invested with the bow during the days when Silappadhikaram was written.

நமமாழ்வார அருளிச்செய்த திருவாய்மொழி.

3-ம் பதது 3-ம் திருவாய்மொழி.

ஒழிவிலகாலமெல்லாம் உடனாயமனனி

வழுவினா அடிமைசெய்யவேண்டுமநாம்

தெழிசூரலருவித திருவேங்கடத்து

எழிலகொளசோதி எநதைதநதைதநதைக்கே

(1) Without (availing) a moment's rest, in intimate (close) contact and without any wavering we should do service to that Jyoti of Subline Beauty who is on (the) Thruvēṅgaḍam (Hill) where the (Hill) streams flow making a deafening noise to Him who is the great father of my sires and grandsires.

எதைதந்தைதந்தை தாதைதந்தைதரும்
முதை வானவா வானவாகோனெடும
சிவதுழும்பிழும் திருவேங்கடத்து
அகதமிவபுகழை காடுழிலண்ணலே

(2) He is the progenitor of our forebears [father's fathers fathers fathers Sires] (the creator of all things) In all His endless glory He is the Lord of Tiruvengadam (Hill) where the Heavenly Beings headed by their King Brahma worship with abundance of flowers.

அண்ணலமாயன அனிகொளசெந்தாமரைத்
கண்ணன செங்கனிலாயத் கருமானிகம
தெண்ணிறைச்சீனாரீரத் திருவேங்கடத்து
எண்ணிலதொலபுகழ வானவரீசனே

(3) He is Lordly He is Mayan (possesses inscrutable and wonderful wits), His eyes are like the petal of the red lotus, His lips and mouth of red colour like that of ripe fruit, His colour is that of the dark clouds He is the Lord of the glorious Heavenly Beings and He stands in Tiruvengadam wherefrom flow sparkling waters.

நசனவானவாக்கெனபன எனருவ அது
தேசமோ திருவேங்கடத்தானுக்கு
கீசனேன சிறைவொன்றுமில்லென எனகன
பாசமவைத்த பாஞ்சடாசசோதிகடே

(4) He is extolled as the Lord of the Heavenly Beings (Vānavarkku Isan) But is that really any glory to Him? He stands on the Tiruvengadam Hill in all His unsurpassable and effulgent Jyoti

(Param sudar jyoti, பரஞ்சடர் சோதி) and has extended his infinite love and compassion (பாசம் Pāsam) even to me, a mean creature (Neechan) who has nothing good to boast of (His greatness therefore lies in extending His love to sinners like me)

சோதியாகி எல்லாவுலகம்தொழும்
ஆதிமூத்தியென்றால் அளவாகுமோ ?
வேதியா முழுவேதத்தமுதததைத
தீதிலசோத திருவேங்கடத்தானையே

(5) This Lord of Tiruvengadam (திருவேங்கட ஸ்ரீ நான்) is everything good and nothing bad He is the nectar (அமுதம்) of all the Vedas so highly valued by greatmen versed therein Will it be considered a full description if it is stated that He is the Ādi Mūrti (the Primeval Being) who is worshipped in all the worlds as a jyoti ? (No)

வேங்கடங்கள் மெய்மேலவினைமுற்றவும்
தாங்குதங்கட்கு நலனவேசெய்வாரா
வேங்கடத்துறைவாராககு நமவென
லாமகடமை அதுசுமநதாராகட்கே

(6) Let all those who groan under a load of past Karmas, (கடமை அது சுமநதாராககு) only say Nama (நம) to Vēṅgadatturaivar (He who lives on the Vēṅgadam Hill) and all their past Karma and what they may happen to commit in this life will be completely burnt (வேம=burn, கடங்கள் accumula-tion of past sins; மேலவினை=sins which may be committed in this life). This is Satyam (மெய்) By

so doing they will only be acquiring good to themselves.

சுமந்துமாமலா கீசுடாதுபமகொண்டு
அமாதுவானவா வானவர்கோனெடும
சுமனறெழும திருவேங்கடமகதடகுச்
சுமனகொளவீடுதரும தடவகுளறமே.

(7) This spacious Thruvengadam Hill will ensure for us (Vidu) Moksham on equal terms with the Heavenly Beings who headed by their King Brahma carry on their head loads of flowers water dhñpam and deepam for his worship if we emulate them and say Nama to Him as they do

குளறமேகதித் குளிர்மழைசுரத்தவன
அனதருகலம அனதபிரான பான
செனறசோ திருவேங்கடமாமலை
ஒனதமேதொழ சுமலினைஒயுமே

(8) He lifted a Hill to protect (the dumb cattle) from biting cold and pelting rain He in days of yore measured the worlds with his Feet (to save the Soul of Maha Bali) This Paran (Para Brahman) left (His Heavenly abode) and has settled on the great Tiruvēngadam mountain. By worshipping that Hill alone all our sins will vanish (கிறிஸ்துமே)

ஒயுமருப்பபு பிறப்புநிறப்புப்பினி
வீயுமாதசெய்வான திருவேங்கடதாபன
கானமலராம அடித்தாமரை
வாயுளருமனததுளரும வையபாச்சடசே

(9) Those (Bhaktas) who in word and thought worship the lotus Feet of this Shepherd of Tiru

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vēṅgadam will be freed from the enfeebling effects of old age, birth, and disease.

வைத்தநாள்வரை எலலைகுறுகிச்சென்று
எய்துகிளைப்பதனமுன்னம் அடைமினோ
பைத்தபாமபணையான திருவேங்கடம்
மொய்ததசோலை மொய்பூந்தடம்தாழுவரே.

(10) (Therefore) Before the appointed end of our life is approached and before age and weakness set in, let us repair to the flower gardens and groves on the slopes of Tiruvengadam (the பாம்பணை) Hill which is the seat of the Lord



CHAPTER III

How the temple became popular and famous.

An attempt was made in the last Chapter to show that neither the so-called Puranic accounts nor other legends can be trusted to explain when and why the God of Tiruvēngadam manifested Himself on the Hill and why the Hill itself came to be credited with the virtue of burning away all sins. It cannot however be doubted that the Hill was considered sacred and the Deity thereon more so. The fact that neither the Hill nor the Deity thereon is mentioned by name in the Itihāsas the Vishnu Purana Sri Bhagavatam and the Bharatam does not militate against it. It was however rarely resorted to by pilgrims in ancient times.

So was and still is Ahōbīlam to which among the Ālvars only Sri Tirumangai Ālvar seems to have paid a visit. It was so inaccessible. It came into prominence during the period of the Sangama Dynasty of the Vijayanagar Kings and after the battle of Talikota again relapsed into obscurity. The writer knew personally the conditions that prevailed there about 35 years ago. There was no regular daily worship although the Temple is said to have been consecrated according to the Pancha ratra Agama by the Ahōbīla Mutt Jiyars. There was a Niyogi Brahmin of the Cuddapah District

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doing puja voluntarily although he knew nothing of the Agama form of worship. He would make 108 pradakshinams after bath with his wet clothes on; then enter the temple, trim the lamp left burning overnight, ring the bell and offer to the Deity the water, flowers and tulasi which he brought with him. He used to cook a small quantity of rice which he would first offer to God and then partake of it himself. This was for the Tiruvilankoyil God in the plains. Five miles away on the Hill is the real Ugra Narasimhaswamy partly in a rock cut cave. There was no daily puja for Him. Once a week on Saturday the same Niyogi gentleman would go to the Hill, do abhishekam and offer the puja in the only simple style known to him. Outside the temple, and even inside the Gopuram, animal sacrifice used to be made by the villagers making the waters of the Bhavanāśini stream (on whose banks the temple is situated) run red with blood. In spite of all these deficiencies, Sri Vaishnavas and all other Hindus too, consider the place sacred. The Brahmōtsavam is attended by tens of thousands of pilgrims.

Tiruvēngadam might have been in similar state in the earlier stages. Except for the Ālwārs singing its glory, there was nothing historically great about it. Epigraphical researches disclose that some Vishnu temples existed from unknown times and more were built from time to time and endowed by the Pallava Kings. What are known as the Chāṇḍēvi plates go to show that among other

things land grant was made to Narayana of Kull mahataraka temple at Dālūru (in Nellore District) There is also the Uravapalli grant in the eleventh year of the reign of Simhavarman (486 A.D.) to God Vishnuhara in Kandukuru (Nellore District) There is the Mahēndravadi inscription (600-630 A.D.) showing that a cave temple called Mahendra Vishnu Simha temple was cut during the reign of Mahēndravarma I probably in Mahēndravadi During the same period there is the Mandagappattu inscription mentioning the erection of a temple for Brahma Vishnu and Isvara without the use of bricks timber metals and mortar An inscription of the Pallāvaram cave temple is of the same period In Kānchīpuram so many temples were built during Mahēndravarmans and his successors time. During the eighth century A.D. and the 9th century also grants were made very near to Tirupati for the Siva and Vishnu temples as may be seen from inscriptions in Gudimallam in Chittoor District Tiruvallam (North Arcot District) and Tirumukkūdal (Venkatesa's temple) These are not repeated here in extenso as we are not much concerned with the details. Among the donors are the Bana Kings (Māvāli Vana Rayas) one of whom Vijayaditya Banarāya is a donor for the Tiruchukanūr Tiruvilankoyil about the closing years of the 9th century A.D. The absence of any inscription showing grant of land or relating to the construction of a temple on Tirumalai cannot therefore be accounted for only by a simple statement

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that inscriptions were rare in those days as Dr S Krishnaswami Ayyangar would have us believe. It can be accounted for only by assuming that the Tirumalai temple, although considered sacred, was not considered important. That must also have been the reason for having a Tiruvilankoyil in Tiruchchukanur or a Venkatesa's Temple in Tirumukkudal in those early days.

But the necessity for a proper temple in Tirumalai soon came to be realised and became an accomplished fact in the early years of the tenth century A.D.

The developments in temple worship, both Saivite and Vaishnavite, which led to this will now be considered. The period we are going to consider is anterior to the birth and growth of the philosophical sects known as the Advaita and the Viśiṣṭādvaita schools adumbrated by Sankara and Ramanuja and the Dvaita school of Madhva. The former lived, for all we know, in the first half of the ninth century A.D. and the latter, Ramanuja, in the eleventh and the first half of the twelfth century A.D. and Madhva lived much later. We have to deal with the period when Appar, Sundarar, Māṇikkavāṣagar and Tirugnānasambandar were the great saints of the Siva cult and the Vaishnavite Ālṅwārs (twelve in number) stood for the new Vaishnava cult, because we really have no means of knowing what definite form Viṣṇu worship took in anterior days. For one thing it does not

appear to have been of the Bhakti type which the Ālwars, and particularly Nammāḷwar enunciated. There may have been the Vaikhanasa form of worship or some form of Pāncharātra. But Pāncharātra itself was presumably based on a rational and acceptable basis by Yāmuna Munī or Ālavandār in his Āgama Prāmānyam and later by Vēdānta Dēśika in his Pāncharātra Rakshaḥ. A glance at the Vaikhanasa Samhita will show how offensively Vaiṣṇavite was the old type which made Brahma and Śiva attendant beings waiting by the side of Viṣṇu, Śiva in particular being placed in the Paśaola Zone. Or worship may have been of the haphazard type the writer described about Ahobilam. If we compare the description given in the Silappadhikaram about Śrīrangam and about Tiruvēngadam we have to conclude that there was regular worship in the presence of a congregation of worshippers so far as Śrīrangam was concerned, whereas in the case of Tiruvēngadam it would have been a mere dressing up of the form of the Deity. The words used in regard to Śrīrangam are 'Several worshipping with Sthotrams.' There is no mention of a congregation of worshippers or of worship in regard to Tiruvēngadam. The Sun and the moon could well have shone on the Deity as he stood according to the author's description.

The Śiva cult was ruling in Kāñchipuram in the 5th 6th and 7th centuries A.D. and the competing

1 " *UWA QERUQERU*

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religions were Jainism and Buddhism. Mahēndra-varman (600—630 A D.) was a Jain before he was converted to Saivism by Appar (Tirunāvukkārasu). During those days, according to the Chinese traveller Hieun Tsang, there were about 80 Hindu and Jain temples in and around Kanchi, and about 100 Sangharamas and 10,000 priests of the Mahayana sect. Kanchi was the birth place of Dharmapāla, the well known metaphysician who was head of the Nalanda University. This was the state of affairs when Hieun Tsang visited Kānchi in 642 A.D. In the Pandyan country also there were Buddhists but mostly given to commercial pursuits. It was also during the period of Narasimhavarma I, that Mānavarma (of the Mahāvamsa of Ceylon) was in Kānchi seeking Narasimhavarma's help to regain the throne in Ceylon. In the Pandyan country, one Pāndyan king Nedumāraṇ was converted from Jainism to Saivism by Sambandar. This might have been about 760 A D.

There was thus very keen rivalry, if not struggle between the heretical religions, Jainism and Buddhism, on the one side and the Vedic types, if we may use that term, of Hinduism represented by the Siva and the Vishnu cults. The Siva cult seems to have been the stronger in the earlier stages. As regards Buddhism, Hieun Tsang himself felt despondent about its future as it was in a decaying state. So was Jainism. Mahendravarma in his Prahāsana (farce) called "Mattavilāsa" (in Sanskrit) ridiculed the Kāpālikās, Sākhya Bīkshus and Pāsapatās.

To comprehend fully the abuses that had crept into Buddhism, Jainism and Saivism, we have to go a little more into details without unduly taxing the patience of the reader. The Mahāyana Buddhism not only copied from Hinduism image worship, but had also developed all the Tantrik forms. Tara, Vajra Yōginī, Kāhētrapala were worshipped with the use of mantras, byas and japa. The life led by the Sakhya Bikshus did not in any way maintain the good name of Buddhism. The Jains seem to have been held in no better esteem by the public. When Mahēndravarmān I (Pallava) and Nedumāran (Pandya) changed their faith from Jainism to Saivism it must have been a sad commentary on that religion. And Mahēndra did not stop with that. He wrote the prahasana severely ridiculing both Jainism and Buddhism. Further both these religions were exotic in origin and no religious literature worth the name seems to have been produced in the language of the country (Tamil). Sanskrit had become a part of the recognised language and all Vedic literature the Puranas etc. were also available in Tamil for the benefit of the common man. South India was in those days in close contact with Ceylon. Manavarma of Ceylon had to flee from Ceylon to seek the help of Namasimha Varman to regain his throne, and was a refugee in Kānchi. The precepts of Buddhism were not being put into practice and that was patent to the Hindus here.

system, which he favoured—the only exception being Tirumalai. The legend is that a Srirangam Archaka for performing his father's sraddha, invited Sri Ramanuja as the bhōkta and that at the end he declined to utter *Truptōsmi* (I am satisfied) unless the key of the temple was handed over to him which was done. Having got hold of the key Sri Ramanuja made them accept Pancharatra to govern the temple worship before handing back the key. Anyhow there is the grievance of that community in the matter although the story on the face of it looks improbable.

[What was wrong with the state of Saivism that made Vaishnavism to rear its head?] The defect seems to have been in the ugly forms which the Tantrik form of worship assumed. Temple worship which has been enjoined for the Kaliyuga is inextricably mixed up with Tantrik rituals whether the temple is of Vishnu or Siva. In the latter there is Siva worship and Devi or Sakthi worship. They are not in two water tight compartments. Whichever is the *Ishṭa Devata* for the specific purpose the appropriate Tantra for propitiation is adopted. The one that came in for the greatest amount of abuse and which wrought havoc on Saivism is what is known as *Vamachara* or *Vira chara* ritual of Shakti which requires Panchatatva for its due performance. They are vulgarly styled *Pancha makara*. It is presumed that the *Sādhaka* must have been duly initiated before he could be considered fit for the *Sādhana* (practice). The

necessaries that make it up are called Madhya, Māmsa, Matsya, Mudia and Maithuna (Wine, meat, fish, grain and woman) It is also called Rahasya Puja (or Lata Sādhana), It is best not to say more about this In support of this, the Tantrik Pandits quote Manu as the authority, and seem to rely also on the Kalikōpanished of the Atharva Veda

“ Na Māmsabhakshana dōshō na madyēē, na cha maithune
Pravrittiresha bhūtanam nivṛttistu mahāphala ”

(Mann)

(There is no wrong in the eating of meat nor in the drinking of wine, nor in sexual intercourse, for these things are natural to men. At the same time, abstention therefrom is productive of great good ”)

Further animal sacrifice was considered unobjectionable, since in the Asvamēdha Yajna by Yudhishtira, a horse was killed, offered to the Devas and eaten In the great Yajna which lasted a hundred years, Shaunaka and other Rishis used to listen to the Srimad Bhāgavata from the mouth of Suta and at the same time sacrificed animals.

There was (it is not known if they still exist) a sect called **Mahavritas** who took a rigid vow to eat only from a human skull as bowl, wear round their neck a garland of human bones and perform their penance in cremation and burial grounds seated on human corpses The **Jangams** formed another class whose meat-eating, drinking and other vices were revolting to public morals **All these formed component parts of Saivism. Black-art and necromancy**

form a part of the cult, although they are condemned as underworld tantras. The presiding devatas are from the Saivite pantheon. The Agamas relating to these have however been classed as Asat Agamas.

It is modern Vaishnavism that is considered to have made a departure by copying the Buddhist principle in prohibiting animal sacrifice. Even in Yagas and Yajnas it is only a pasu (cow) made of rice or other grain flour that is used for sacrifice.

The Ālvārs were not content with these departures. They preached and practised more revolutionary doctrines taking care not to shock the ideas of Varnasrama Dharma prevalent in those days. So far as spirituality was concerned there was no distinction based on caste, non-caste or sex. They copied Buddhism and made women eligible to become acharyas. When we look at the composition of the recognised Ālvārs we may classify them as follows.

The first three Alvars—Poygai Alvar, Bhutatalvar and Peyalvar.—They never let anybody know what caste or parentage was theirs nor did any one know. All of them hail from Kanchi Mandalam—Kanchi, Tirukkadalimalai (Mahabalipuram) and Mailai (Mylapore). Their birth date is ascribed by Dr Swamikannu Pillai to about 719 A.D. But it is immaterial for our present purpose to know the exact date.

(4) Tirumalaisai Alvar.—He himself said that he was not born in any of the known castes. He was

a foundling brought up by a Vēdan (hunter). He became greatly learned in the Sāstrās and even the Vēdas, Jainism, Buddhism and the Saivite Pāsupata Āgamās. He preferred Vaishnavism of his own choice. His birth date is supposed to be 720 A.D. (Dt Swami Kannu)

The above four represent Kānchi Mandalam, and not one of them was a caste man, as far as was known.

(5) **Nammalvar** :—Was the son of a highly cultured Sūdia couple, Kāri and Aḍaya Nangai. From the moment of birth, he was considered a remarkable spiritual being. He was born in Tirukkurukai (Tinnevely District) about 708 A.D. He is acknowledged to be the greatest of the Ālvārs.

(6) **Madhurakavi Alvar** :—Of very orthodox Brahmin parentage of the village of Tirukkōilū, a Sāma Vēdi, who after sojourn throughout India found in Nammālvār his great Āchārya. It is to him that Sri Nammālvāi is said to have vouchsafed Tiruvuttam (Rigvēdasāram), Tiruvāsiriyam (Yajurveda), Periyatiruvandādi (Atharva Vēda) and Tiruvoimoli in particular which is the sheet anchor of the modern Sri Vaishnava Siddhantam and practice. He is said to have been born in 797 A.D.

(7) **Periyalvar** :—Born in Srīvilliputtūr of orthodox vaishnava family. He is also known as Viṣṇu Chittan, and Paṭṭarpirān and sang the celebrated "Pallāṇḍu Pallāṇḍu" Born 725 A.D.

(8) Andal —The foster daughter of Periyalvār picked up as a foundling in the flower garden of Periyalvar about 776 A.D in Srivilliputtur. She remained a virgin and is reputed to have become the consort of Sri Ranganatha. A woman Saint.

(9) Kulasekhara Alvar —Also known as Kollikavalan a Kshatriya, born in Kollinagar (or Vanjikkalam) as the son of Drīdhavṛitaraja a great Sanskrit poet and scholar. Became a devout Sri Vaishnava and Saint 767 A.D (Kerala). His name is given to the gold plated door step in the Tirumalai Sanctum (Kulasēkharappadi).

(10) Tondaradippodi Alvar —Born of orthodox Brahmin, Sri Vaishnava parentage in Tirumandakkudi. Also known as Vipranārayanan. He served in Srirangam temple maintaining Nandavanam (787-88 A.D.)

(11) Tiruppanalvar —Foundling brought up by Chandala parents of Urayur. Is reported to have been taken into the sanctum of Sri Ranganatha on the shoulders of Lōkasāranga Muni. Born 601 A.D.

(12) Tirumangal Alvar —Born of fourth varna (Sudra) in Tiruvali Tirunagar was ruler of that place. Became a great saint after a chequered career of romance and dacoity. A great traveller all over India. 776 A.D.

While Nammalvar Periyalvār Andal Kulasekharan and Madhurakavi may be said to belong to the extreme South composed of the Pandya and Kerala countries. Tondaradippodi Tiruppanan and

Tirumangai Ālvārs represent the Chola country. We have seen that Poygai, Bhūtani, Pēyēlvār and Tirumalīśai represent the Kānchi or Tondai mandalam. If we bear this distribution in mind, we will see that in the Tondai mandalam, the impact with Jainism and Buddhism was a little earlier than in Pāṇḍyanāḍu. On the whole almost all the Ālvārs may be said to be contemporaries, the concentration of the largest numbers being in the tracts where the heretic religions had to be contended with. **The new faith preached by all these Alvars** was in essence the same, based on **Bhakti and Love**. The team represents almost all castes of society and both the sexes. The leader of this pantheon has been universally recognised by all Śrīvaiṣṇavas to be Nammālvār, a Sat Sūdra by birth. The most learned of the Brahmins was his devoted Śiṣhya (Madhura Kavi). Madhura Kavi is considered by some to be the same as Māraṇ Kāri, who excavated the cave temple and installed Nara-simhaswami in the Ānamalai Hills, 770 A.D. during the reign of the Pandya King Varaguna Maharaja. If so there must be some thing wrong with the birth date.

Periya Ālvār of Pāṇḍya Nāḍu was also a Brahmin, Kulasekhara, a Kṣatriya; who preferred a devotee's robe to that of a monarch. Āṇḍāl, the foster daughter of a Brahmin, preferred to remain unmarried and became a devotee.

All the four Ālvārs of Kanchi Mandalam were of unknown parentage. And Tirumalīśai distinctly

states that he did not come of any of the four castes

Tirumangai and Tondaradippodi of the Ohola country had not a clean record of life before they became great devotees and Saints.

It will thus be seen that the new faith held out equal opportunities for all to become saintly and that the sins of the past in this life cannot stand in the way of reformation to the extent of a clean wiping out of all past record. It copied the Buddhists in this respect and also in respect of placing women on a footing of equality with men in the spiritual field. It was the acquisition of the power of intense love that made it possible for Tirumangai Ālvar to switch over in one instant from the material to the spiritual plane.

But was this pantheon of the Ālvars recognised in their lifetime? And how does it in any way affect the practices of the Tiruvēngadam temple?

The pantheon certainly did not come into existence till after the days of Srīman Natha Munigal and even long after Sri Ramanuja's days. The tradition is that the Ālvars' hymns were sung in odd bits in different temples scattered all over the Tamil country and that Nathamuni during his tours of pilgrimage observed that they contained great spiritual truths in the finest Tamil. He set about compiling them together. Tradition says that he was able to do this successfully on account of his yogic powers. This is a tradition universally

accepted by all Śrī Vaiṣṇavas. There is in fact no evidence of the Ālvārs' spiritual leadership having gained country-wide acceptance during their lifetime. A few of them seem to have attended the assemblies of disputation convened by the Pandyan and the Chola-Kings from time to time and proved the superiority of their Vaiṣṇavite tenets. Tradition also says that when Tirumalīśai Ālvār entered an assemblage of Brahmins reciting the Vedas on a great occasion, they stopped the recitation as he was not a Dvija. When they forgot where they had left off, it was Tirumalīśai that pointed out to them by signs as to where to commence, since in his humility he would not utter the words himself.

Nor is there evidence that during **Nathamuni's** days, a pantheon of Ālvārs was created. But his grandson, Śrī Ālavandar showed the way. In commencing his work "Stotiratnam," he first offers in three stanzas his pranāmams to his grand-father and Guru Śrīman Nathamuni and then in one stanza to Parāśara, because he gave to the world true knowledge in his Viṣṇu Purāṇa (Puranaratnam) and then in another stanza to the feet of Nammālvār—whom he calls the progenitor of his Kula (Vaiṣṇavism)—'Naha ādhyasya kulapateh'—and who is the mother, father, wife, sons, wealth and all else to him and his fellow Vaiṣṇavas. We may therefore take it as a settled fact that it was **Yamuna Muni** (Ālavandar) that made the Śrī Vaiṣṇava faith what it has since become under the

spiritual influence of Nammālvār. But later on Sri Ramanuja while commencing the writing of his Sri Bhashya on the Brahma Sūtras first prays to God Srinivasa (Brahmanī Srinivāse) for giving him true knowledge and Bhakti. Then his prostrations go to Vyāsa. In this connection the Ācharya parampara is not through Ālavandar, Nāthamuni and Nammālvār. Apart from this unique deviation every Sri Vaishnava knows that, according to established custom his first business after putting on his Namams is to pay obeisance to his immediate Āchārya and through him in ascending order right up to Nāthamuni and Nammālvār. After Nammālvār his next saviours are Divine viz, Vishvaksena Sri and Sridhara. So far as human āchāryas are concerned Nammālvār is the final one because he is believed to have received his intuitive knowledge direct from God through Sri and Vishvaksena.

Temples which were in existence from before the days of Nammālvār may not have been modelled on the theological concepts of Nammālvār at the time of their consecration. But all temples consecrated by Sri Vaishnavas after the days of Nammālvār—rather since Ālavandar's days—must be presumed to be in accordance with Nammālvār's conception of Viṣṇu worship. The consecration of the silver image of Tiruvēngadamudaiyan was during the lifetime of Ālavandar.

We have now to see why this new image was consecrated. There was already the Svayambhu

(self-manifest) Murti which needed no consecration at human hands. But whatever kind of Puja was there, before consecration of the silver image, it was not according to Nammiwar's conception. We have noticed that Kanchi was the nerve centre of all the then known religions of the South. The Saivite saint Appar called it "Kalviyē karaḷ ilāda Kāñchimā nagar" (the great city of Kanchi where culture knew no bounds). There as well as in the Pandyan country, Jainism and Buddhism were active and alive. Saivism was running riot in all directions good and bad. The old Vishnu temples had their own well-worn āgamic ruts in which they were running. The political conditions in the Tamil country during the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries were anything but settled, owing to the incessant wars between the Pallavas, Cholas and Pandyas with the Rāshtrakūtas and the Chālukyas interfering in these wars. Kanchi itself was more than once in the hands of Rāshtrakūtas and therefore under Jain influence. Of the Pallavas, some were Saivites and some Vaishnavites, with no marked theological or philosophical distinctions. As soon as the Cholas conquered Tondai Mandalam at the beginning of the 10th century, Saivite influence became more prominent.

It was therefore necessary for Sri Vaishnava leaders to seek some place where there was no old Sectarian controversy and where old feuds might not breed new causes of disturbance.

Where was the place besides Tirumalai with a greater claim to sanctity and where there was no settled form of worship as yet established? Early at the commencement of the 9th century, the Vaishnavas (they were not styled Sri Vaishnavas then but Emperumanadiyar) consecrated a small temple called Tiruvilankōil of Tiruvēngadamudaiyan in Tiruchchukanūr. With the advent of the Cholas as rulers of the land, a Siva temple of Parasarisvara began to find favour there. The consecration of the Maṇavalapperumal (silver image) in Tirumalai itself about the year 966 A.D., thus became a necessity. The popularity which the temple gained in later years was entirely due to putting into practice the high ideals of Sri Nammalvar.

WHAT WERE THE IDEALS OF NAMMALWAR?

We have seen that controversies were going on between the protagonists of the different religions and sects. We also know what Tirumalaisai Ālvar had to say in the matter

“அறிவார் சமண சயத்தார் படித்தர்
சிறியார் சிவப்பட்டா செபயில்—வெறியாய்
மாயவனை மாலவனை மாதவனை யேத்தத்தார்
ஈனவனே யாதலா வினறு

(தானமுத திரு 6)

சாத்திரம் கற்றோரும் சமண்கற்றோரும் சைவர்களு
ட்கு கெரிய வாகமறு வாதாயதோம்—பாக்கியத்தால்
செவகட கரியனைச் சோததோம்பலம் தீநிலமே
என்கட கரியதொன் தில”

These two stanzas go to show that the Ālvār after careful study of the Saiva Agamas, of Buddhism and Jainism, considered that by good luck, he came to place his faith in Vishnu worship

There were however the first three Alvars, who though they were as staunch as Tirumalisai in their faith in Vishnu worship, described the form of Truvēngadamudaiyān as one in whom both Vishnu and Siva existed in happy combination. They also left no doubt that He was Vishnu Mūrti. Pēy Ālvār gives the description of the Mūrti in the following stanza

(1) “ தாழ்சடையும் நீணமுடியு மொணமழவுஞ் சக்கரமும்
சூழரவும் பொன்னாணுந் தோன்றுமால்—சூழும்
திரண்டருவி பாயுந் திருமலைமே லெதைக்ககு
இரண்டுருவு மொன்றா யிசைந்தது ”

(2) “ பொன் திகழுமேனிப் புரிசடையம் புண்ணியனும்
நின்றுலகந் தாய நெடுமாலும்—என்றும்
இருவரங்கத தாற்றிரிவ ரேனும்—ஒருவன்
ஒருவனங்கத தென்று முளன் ”

(1) He has in his form the flowing matted locks (jatai) the high peaked crown (நீணமுடி) the shining dagger (ஒணமழவு) and the chakram, the snake coiling him, and the golden sutram round his waist. In Him, my father on Tirumalai, the two forms have gracefully blended into one.

(2) The golden-hued Holy one (Siva) and the one who rose to the skies to encompass this earth, Trivikrama (உலகமதாப நெடுமால்) Vishnu, the two may

pass as separate ones but the one is really in the other

These two Ālvārs believed in the identity of the two —

(A) But Nammālvār gives a more lucid exposition

‘ ஏறண்ப பூவண்பபூ மகாதண்ண
வேறினறி கிண்டொழுதன னுணவதது
மேறணை மீதிடகிரிசுது மண்கொண்ட
மாதணினவமிக் குமொதே அமுனதே ? ’

He has merged in Himself (in the undifferentiated state) Rudra Brahma and Lakshmi after losing their separate entity (வேறினறி) He pierced by his growth the highest heavens to encompass creation Is there a Higher Divinity than that Māl (Vishnn) ?

The idea that Rudra Brahma and Lakshmi are separate Deities having independant status is negatived by Nammālvār Tirumahisai and several of the other Ālvārs share this view In fact the view is that Vishnn created Brahma who in turn created Siva. It is in this sense that Tiruvēngadamudaiyan has been presented to us He is not any of the ten Avatars of Vishnu He is Naraya Himself who for the benefit of Mankind in this Kali age has made Himself self manifest in Vēngadam for reasons known to him only

This conception cannot possibly be engrafted on the older agamic Vishnu temples. This conception

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accounts for the absence of any shrine even for Lakshmi in Tirumalai. The Murti is common to all sects, although the worship is to the Form of Vishnu.

(B) To make this clearer, in an other place the same Ālvār says :—

“ நுமமின கலிகொண்டு நும்நுமிட்டாதெயவ மேத்தினால்
செமமின சுடாமுடி யெனதிரு மாலுக்கஞ்ச சேருமே ”

திருவாயமொழி III 9-6.

“ Worship and praise each His own Deity (Ishta Dēvata) they all reach my Tirumāl (Vishnu) ”

(C) Men have their own desires in this world and have therefore been propitiating different Deities who are supposed to have the power to bestow different kinds of boons. These were being done according to the Tantras laid down in the Agamas. Some are good and some are bad. We know that non-Vaishnavas have far too many Vritas. There is no need for these tiresome pujas. The Ālvār says that Tiruvēngadamudaiyān is the giver of all gifts whatever be one's desires.

(D) But he also says that if he is worshipped for the love of it, He bestows on the worshipper the good things of this world, then, as the result of one's good actions, life in the other worlds if so desired, and finally and by degrees or stages Moksham. All the Vritas which require intermediaries in the shape of human help and those of the lesser gods may be dispensed with. Sri Vaishnavas have therefore dispensed with all Kāmya Vrita Karmas. Only such as are enjoined by the Sastras

as obligatory need be and must be performed. Even for these the Sankalpam is that one has no claim to the fruits of the performance of such acts. (Sātvika tyagam)

(E) The highest value which the Ālvār attaches to Bhakti and Bhaktas is expressed in the following stanza.

“கலாதாமரு சாதிகள ஈவினும் சீழிழிந்து எத்தனை
கலாதா னிலாதசன டாசன டாசாக ஈவினும்
வலாதாமரு சககாத தண்ணல மணிவண்ணத காலென்ற
கலாதா அடிவா தமமடி வானெம மடிசே ”

திருவாய்மொழி III 7-6

He says that he is the devout servant of those who are Vishnu Bhaktas even if such happen to be born as lower than the lowest of Chandalas. The superiority of Bhakti over the path pursued by the performance of Vedic rituals (including Yagas Yajnas etc) is being annually proclaimed in the solemn performance of a festival known as the reading of the Kaṣika Puranam early in the morning of the Uttama Dvadasi day before day break. The puranam inculcates the superiority of Bhakti. A very learned Brahmin pursuing the path to salvation according to Vedic injunctions was owing to a flaw in the performance of such Karma destined to become a Brahma Rakshas. It was vouchsafed that a great Bhakta would turn up several years later at whose hands the curse would cease to operate and the Brahmin would achieve salvation. A Chandala by name Nampaduvar

was incessant and unfailing in his Bhakti and observed Ekādasī Upavāsam for twelve years. In the twelfth year, this Brahmarakshas waylaid the Chandala and wanted to eat his flesh. The Chandala agreed to be the prey, but wanted a short respite so that he might go to the temple and sing the usual praises of God. The Brahmarakshas could not believe that the man would come back, but after many assurances were given, agreed to wait. True to his word and against the advice of a Brahmin, the Chandala kept the engagement. Then it seems to have dawned on the Brahmarakshas that the moment of salvation had come for him. He offered to let go the Chandala if he would only transfer to him the virtue acquired by his devotion. The Chandala said that he had no power to do that. He was performing only Nishkamyā Karma. He had already passed to God himself the fruits of his action. In a series of cajoling words, the Brahmarakshas asked him to part with the virtue acquired by the last song he sang in the Kāśika rāga, but in vain. Then he prostrated before the Chandala and requested him to obtain salvation for him. The story of his life was then revealed. The Chandala out of real humility pleaded that he was of the lowest of human beings, but if he could really intercede to help another soul, he would willingly pray to God. The Brahmarakshasa's curse came to an end and the Brahmin got his salvation. This puranam is being read year after year by some member or other

of family of Śrī Ālavandār in all the Vaiṣṇavite temples in the Tamil country. The reading of the Puranam is only to remind all Śrī Vaiṣṇavas what was Nammālvār's attitude to Bhaktas wherever they may be born.

(F) Spiritual advancement is equally open to all. The composition of the Pantheon of Ālvārs bears testimony to this. In the daily routine of a Vaiṣṇavite temple it is to be clearly seen. There are no separate compartments for different castes for worship in the sanctum as is the case in many Śaivite temples. All mix freely and even indiscriminately. The Tīrtham vessel does not get polluted after a spoonful thereof is given to a Harijan nor is the Sāṭhari considered polluted by being placed on the head of a Harijan. There is one more proof in Tirumalai. A portion of the cooked food which is the first food offering after Tirumanjanam and the only one that is allowed inside the Kulasēkharappadi is kept in the sanctum. A little of it is given to the worshipper after Tīrtham and Sāṭhari. In ordinary Brahmin houses if a portion of the food is given to a Śudra the remaining portion is considered polluted and unfit to be eaten by a Brahmin. In the Tirumalai temple a small lump of prasadam will be accepted with veneration by a Brahmin whose turn comes next to that of a Harijan. There is no touch pollution inside a temple or even in God's procession in the streets. He who entertains the feeling of pollution will be born a dog or an ass. In Srirangam one of the tīrtham

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mirasdars is a Sāttāda Śrīvaishnava. In the Tirumalai temple, these Sāttāda Śrīvaishnavas enjoyed the privilege of supplying all the articles required for Tirumanjanam, carried in procession round the temple before being delivered inside. They were receiving honours and emoluments in return. They also enjoyed the privilege of reciting prabhandams in gōshṭi along with the Brahmin Śrīvaishnavas and were given emoluments therefore. For some reason or other, they ceased to perform the sacred duty. Inscriptions bear testimony to the practice.

This rather long exposition is given to show why and how the temple of Tiruvēngadamudaiyān became popular with all the sects of Hindus. We may go to the Telugu and Kanarese countries or Kerala and Maharashtra, the prefix Venkata will be found tacked on to any kind of name. It may be Venkata Raman, Venkata Subrahmanian, Venkata Subban, Venkata Sivadu, Venkata Narasa, Venkata Krishna etc. The reason is that Tiruvēngadamudaiyān is considered the family Deity in many families in South India. This acceptance as family Deity is due to the Ālvārs' conception of the form of that Deity.

There is one question which any non-Vaishnava acquainted with the routine of daily worship in this temple may raise. How is it that the Śrī Vaishnavas have for themselves exclusively one item of worship called the **Sattumurai** to which the others are not given admission? The answer to this consists of two parts. One is that Sattumurai

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is not an item of worship in the view of the Vaikhanasa Archaka nor according to Sri Ramanuja's work Nityam. It is a function coming at the tailend after the orthodox ritualistic worship according to the Agama is completed and after the nonagamie Sahasranāmārchana. It is only an innovation made some time after the Muslims or the East India Company assumed management of the temple. Barring the strict rituals of worship in Sanskrit riks several of the other items and festivals are of a compromise character, a compromise between Ramanuja's Pancharatram and Vaikhanasam. The Sāttumurai is one of such items. The second part of the reply is that the exclusion of devotees of other persuasion is not an ancient custom. It was introduced when the T T D Committee first came to power. The overcrowding in the temple was so much that bonafide Sri Vaishnavas, who could recite the prabhandams and take active part in the function, could not gain admission due to their chronic poverty and lack of influence. On the other hand spectators took up all available space coming as they did with letters of recommendation. To make the function successful admission was restricted to those who could recite the prabhandam so far as the portions relating to Sāttumurai were concerned. The function itself is a latter-day innovation and does not find place in any of the inscriptions as an item of daily worship. It was recited outside the Temple first and then outside the Sanadhi and in front of Sri Ramanuja's shrine,

on certain occasions only. The word Sattumurai is only a tamil word and has no equivalent in Sanskrit

There is an assurance given by Nammālvai in regard to Tiruvēngaḍamuḍaiyān which cannot well be left cryptic. He advises men possessing high intellectual gifts (particularly poets) not to prostitute the rare gift they possess for the gratification of unworthy mortals for the sake of a small remuneration. He advises them to earn their bread by doing hard manual work and to make use of their gifts to worship and praise God, each his own Ishta Devata. But if really boons have to be asked, he assures them that this Deity will grant whatever is prayed for. The words used are “Vēṇḍirrellam tarum kōḍil maṇivanṇan” and they are words deliberate in expression. So we see people making pilgrimage to Tirupati to fulfil their vows. The man who was blessed with a son, another who got cured of a serious illness in a miraculous manner, the man who escaped a serious accident, the burglar who escaped punishment, the one who wanted that he should have no scorpion sting, nay even the murderer who went unpunished, all go and fulfil their vows.

The Ālvār would not have overlooked the accepted mythology that Bhasmasura, Hiranya, Maha Bali, Rāvana, Kamsa and several other Rakshasas were given the boons they asked for, all

of which were used against society and God. The one who granted those boons could not have been ignorant of the fact that they were going to be used against Himself. Evolution of the soul through the exercise of Free will accounts for this paradox or Theodicy

In the Ālvārs conception the final goal of the individual soul is Moksham (Vīḍi) There will be ups and downs in the ascent to this goal. Errors are bound to bring about repentance and must lead to success. The Ālvār does not hold out to even the worst einnar the horrors of eternal damnation and hell. So he says that God grants anything one asks for. By sheer experience he learns to ask for things which are for his eternal good. In the spiritual ascent even failures count. The Ālvārs advice is that one must learn to love heart and soul, even if that love is for a material object. The capacity for intense love once acquired can in a moment and at the mere touch of a great master be switched over to the right object. When that is done it becomes Bhakti. So we find in his songs that he represents himself as a woman pining to gain Him who is the object of her love. We have a concrete instance in the person of Tirumangai Ālvār.

In the absence of Love (or Bhakti) as the dominant factor the acquisition of psychic powers through boons granted or as the result of severe penance, may lead to disastrous consequences. Leaving aside the Rakshasas the powers acquired

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by Viśwāmitra resulted only in making him land from one morass into another, until he found out that Vasiṣṭha was the model to follow. There was no soul more perfected than that of Maḥa Bala in his days. But he knew not how to conquer the self and boasted that he was in the supreme position of the Giver. God had to teach him that nothing was his, that his self was itself God's own and had to be surrendered to Him. While commenting upon this phenomenon, Nammālvār beseeches God to play the same trick with him. He wonders how he can repay God for this great act which was done to him. He says that he gave away his self, his ego to God's keeping. As an after-thought he corrects himself and puts the question to himself: What is my soul and who am I? to dispose of it. It is all His; He gave and He takes it away at His pleasure.

The history of this temple in its earlier days was shaped by great men who were imbued with the Ālvārs' high and practical philosophy. Its fame rose by leaps and bounds. Today, this temple stands pre-eminently the greatest in the land.

"Venkatēsa samō Dēvō nabhūtō na bhaviṣyate" is repeated day after day during Mantrapushpam. The closing mangalam is:

"Sri nagaryām mahā puryaṁ Tāmaprap-
arnyuttarētātē,
 tantri nē mula dhāmnē Sri Sathagōpāya
mangalam"

to remind us of Saint Nammālvār,

CHAPTER IV

History of the Tiruvengadam Temples (in Tirumalai Tirupati etc.)

SYNOPSIS

Our ancients thought that it was possible to realise the infinite through the finite to comprehend the power and glory of the formless and all pervasive Divinity through the worship of an image with form which is usually consecrated and installed in a temple. Just as we today try to concentrate the rays of the sun by scientific processes and to utilize the mighty forces of solar energy for serving our material welfare, the ancient Hindus tried to focus the infinite powers and attributes of the invisible Divinity in a visible image for ministering to our spiritual welfare. The Mahabharata (Mausala Parvam Chapter V) account of the origin of image worship was already referred to in Chapter II. This is how image worship came into being and the object of this book is to explain how it came in Tirumalai and Tirupati in what manner and with what results. It is really not known when the Birthless one came to have a birth on the Vengadam Hills of His own Choice (Svayam Vyaktam.) The large image form seems to have been there from an unknown date. All that we can say is when the small stone temple was built to enshrine the image. In fact the history of the Tiruvengadam Temple is seen to commence not on the Hills, but in the small

CONSECRATION OF SILVER MURTI

village of Tiruchokunur (Tiruchchokunur or Tiruchchukanur) now going by the name of Tiruchanur or Chiratanur about ten miles South of the Hills by road. Changes in the political conditions of the country seem to have largely influenced the building of a temple on the Vengadam Hill itself and in the founding of a new village near the foot of the Hill by Sri Ramanuja known as Tirupati. The Pallava rule during which the temple was built was overthrown by the Cholas and Saivism gained the upper hand for some time. For a correct understanding of the inscriptions which reveal this history, it is necessary that we should understand the religious atmosphere of the corresponding period and the political conditions favourable or unfavourable at the time.

But before entering into details, it may as well be useful to state in brief the scope of the T T inscriptions. A temple in Thiruchchukanūr ten miles away from the main focal point on Vengadam proved unsatisfactory as it may give rise to a conflict with the Siva Temple and dissipate energy. **A small silver image**, a replica of the main God (Dhruva Mūrti or Periya Perumal), was therefore made, bedecked with a number of jewels and **formally consecrated** according to prescribed rituals in the year 966 A. D. by a lady devotee, named Sāmavai. This small idol made it possible for the Bhaktas to satisfy their carvings to worship the Deity with all the ecstasy which the Ālvārs described in the outpourings of their heart. A century

later Sri Ramanna came on the scene and carried out many developments. The Yadavarayas who were the local rulers, were largely responsible for placing the finances of the temple on a satisfactory basis. The form of worship from this period right down to about 1300 A.D. was in closer accordance with the tenets of Vaikhanasa Āgama which governed the consecration of the temple. In the earliest days the worship does not appear to have been in the strict Vaikhanasa form. The very āgama warned the Vaikhanasas not to interfere with old usages etc., in Svayamvyakta temples. The images of the Ālvars and that of Sri Āndāl had no place in the sanctum nor had they separate shrines inside or outside the Trumalai temple. The image of Sri Ramanuja was the sole exception. Even he had no separate worship for him in the temple. This has been the state of affairs even to this day. Even in Tirupati the shrines for Trumangal Ālvar Nammāḷvar and Āndal seem to have come into existence in the latter half of the 13th century A.D. The quantity of food offerings was limited to the extent of the requirements of the temple servants. There was little left for desantries, or pilgrims. The quantity was ridiculously below the standard fixed in the Āgama for the lowest class of temples (Adhama dhama).

There were no festivals of importance excepting the Brahmōtsavams the two Vishu Sankramanas,

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the two Ayana Sankramanas, the Mukkōti Dvādasi and much later the Uttāna (Kaisika) Dvādasi

The Muslim invasions of the South of India by Malik Kafur in 1310 A.D. and by Mohammed Bin Tughlak brought about some changes. Singayya Dannāyaka, the military commander and minister of the Hoysala King Vira Ballāla, made some innovations. He was a staunch Sri Vaishnava of the Mysore country, whose ancestors must have been under the religious spell of Sri Ramanuja who spent the period of his exile in that part of South India. Nandavanams (flower gardens) and Mutts were established by him. He came over to Tirupati to guard the political interests of the Yādavarāya, ruler as the Pāndiyan power had broken down. He made the Yādavarāya in 1328 A.D. assign a village in his favour for rendering certain food services to the God. And the Yādavarāya followed suit in the name of his forebear Yādava Narayana. Just about the same time (1339 A.D.) images of the Utsava Mūrti along with the two Nachchimar came to view in the inscriptions. Certain new festivals were now instituted where food offerings on a larger scale than before were made and distributed to the congregation. There seems to have been no room for these images in the old Vaikhanasa form of worship in Trumalai. Even in Tirupati such festivals were unknown before. This Mūrti is the Malayappan of our day, known at the time as Malai Kuniya Nīma Perumal. This innovation was in keeping with the

type of festival celebrations in the Tamil Chola and Pandyan countries

We are in a position to trace the development of the *Sandhi offerings* and the *Asthanams*¹ as the direct or indirect effect of Malik Kafur's invasion of the South which drove some of the Southern Sri vaishnavas to Tirumali and Tirupati. We will find the singing of Tiruppāvai first in the later half of the 13th century A.D. in Tirupati and of Tiruvaimoli in the third quarter of the 14th century in Tirumalai. The beginnings of the Arisanalayam Nandavanam and Matham which later developed into the Jiyar Matham and also of the Van Sathagopan Nandavanam which gave rise to the Ahobila matham will be noticed. The date of construction of some parts of the temple in 1250 A.D. including the gopurams the renovation of the sanctum on a grand scale and the construction and hasty closure of the Mukkōṭi Pradakshinam and the first gold gilding of the vimanam will also be discussed.

We will also go into the details of the administrative machinery of the temple from the days of the Srikaryakartas and the Sabhaiyars of Tiruchchukanur to the Sthanattar (1209) acting under the authority of the early Yadavarāyas the constitution in 1390 A.D. of an ad hoc independent body composed of four representa

1 Sandhi offerings are food offerings made at the six periods of each day as mentioned in the agama. Asthanam is the function when the Utsava Murti holds a darbar on certain occasions in a spacious mantapam when food offerings are made and distributed

tives of the townsmen of Tirupati, three representatives of the Sabbhaiyar, one representative of the Archakas, the two Jiyars and two representatives of the newly created temple accountants (Tiru-ninra-ūr-Udaiyar) all subject to the overriding control of the King himself; the gradual deterioration in the morale of this committee, the growth in the volume of food offerings which was exploited to the full by the Sthanattar and the attempts made by Sāluva Narasimha and the Vijayanagara Kings to curb this evil and make more food available to the pilgrims by the establishment of Rāmānuja Kūtams and Satrams. The evil, however, invaded even these institutions and food could be had for the pilgrims only on payment. The Sthanattar and the Archakas and Jiyars seem to have sold their share to lessees who sold the prasadams. When the endowments for food offering increased, the Sthanattar seemed to have prevailed upon the donors to endow for Vagaipadī (baked or fried in ghee) in increasing quantities so that their share might be sold at convenience. The result of all this was the establishment of a **free feeding house in Tirupati by one Aravidu Kondaraja in 1547** in the Nammālṅvār sannidhi which he built and about 2000 Śrī Vaiṣnavas irrespective of caste were fed there daily in a sumptuous manner. This will be dealt with at length in its proper place. The difficulty felt by the Sthanattar in the disposal of large quantities of prasadams by sale was also sought to be overcome by the institution of festivals

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wherein payment was made in cash for all the servants of the temple from the Sthanattar down to the sweeper. These went under the sub heads of expenditure called **Tirumun Kanikkai** (திருமுன் காணிக்கை) and **Tirukkai Valakkam** (திருக்கை வலக்கம்). These payments were however, justifiable as the servants were asked to work overtime.

Arrangements for the daily recitation of the Vedas in the temple (in addition to the Tiruvoimoli) were sought to be made by **Sri Dēvarāya Maharāya II** (in 1430 A.D.) and this was long after Tiruvoimoli gained ground and **Adhyayanōtsavams** celebrated. **Dēvarāya** had to make solemn promises on the shore of the **Swami Pushkarini** to the **Mahajans** that yearly payment would be made for their services. How the **Emperumanadiyars** or **Tiruvidhi sanis** (dancing girls) came into existence, how their influence grew till one of their number was accorded higher honours than that of any **acharva** or the **King** and how they suddenly disappeared from the temple inscriptions will also be explained.

The growth in the type of food offerings from the simple cooked rice green gram ghee and curds of the early days to the much more gluttonous types such as **Paruppaviyal** **Tiruppōnakam** **Tirukkannam** **Dadhyōdanam** the six kinds of **Ōgarais** the **Sarkarai pongal** **Aṭirasams** **Appams** **Vadais** **Iddilis** **Sukhiyan** **Gōdhi** **Kasikkay** **Bhotnikai** **Pai** **Kulambu** and several more all these recorded in the inscriptions disclose how the authorities catered

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more to the palate than to the spirit of the pilgrim. **The growth in the number of subsidiary temples** in Tirupati diverted the emoluments from the Sthanattar to other more needy stomachs. What is of greater interest to the student of the ancient political and economic history of the country is also clearly seen in the inscriptions. **The working of the ancient village assemblies**, the agency which enquired into their faults of commission and omission and the method adopted for quick redress of grievances are portrayed in the inscriptions. **The taxes levied by the king** and those which the village assembly levied are given in some detail. We have also an instance of how a number of the Nāttāis of village assemblies met to decide on common action when the suggestion emanated from the King.

The rise in the cost of living from time to time is reflected in the increased amount of money which had to be paid by the donor for the same kind of food offering. **The actual prices of commodities in bulk and in retail** are recorded from the middle of the 16th century A D. These and several connected matters have been faithfully recorded here with the aid of inscriptions. Although the usual method of making endowments for services to be performed in the temple was either in the shape of money or by the grant of villages, occasions are noticed in the inscriptions when either because money went underground owing to political

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turmoils or because the capacity of the Sthanattar for judicious expenditure on the improvement repairs and creation of fresh irrigation sources was doubted the dooors executed the works themselves by paying labour in cash or in kind. Such changes when read along with the change in chronology for the recording of inscriptions disclose to a certainly unsettled political conditions. Where whole villages were granted it, as not usual in the earlier periods to state what the amount of annual income would be. Only the services to be maintained from the income were shown. But in later periods particularly after Krishnadeva Maharaya's reign it became the practice to state the normal income either because prices fluctuated too much or because the Sthanattar's capacity was doubted. After the battle of Talikōta it is not even the income but the yield in grain that was being noted. We also find that the prices of commodities were fluctuating in an uncertain manner. The chronology cited in the inscriptions mentioned the year of the reigning monarch till we reach the period when the Pandyan suzerainty broke down and the Vijayanagar reign had not been well established. Even in the earliest period when the Pallava rule came to an end and the Chola rule had not been well established the Chronology adopted in the Inscription was the Sali Saka. Again when the Pandyans collapsed and Malik Kafur was rushing down the Saka year is referred to and no mention made of any ruling King.

Although the Vijayanagar sovereignty was established due to the strong backing given by Sāluva Narasimha, his policy was to avoid dynastic chronology and stick to the Saka year only. This was systematically adopted since then although the name of the ruler was coupled with the mention of the Saka year from the time of Achyutaraya. When there were succession troubles, the name of the King was not mentioned, or if the donor desired such mention to express his loyalty to one party or the other, the policy of the Sthanattar was simply to record the donor's attitude. These will go to show the status of the Sthanattar vis-a-vis the ruler of the land.

There is yet another point which will be noticed in detail in due course. **The Vijayanagar Kings were less sectarian in their attitude to the temple administration than their predecessors, whatever the personal conviction of the particular emperor might have been.** This was more marked in the case of Krishna Deva Maharaya. His gifts were incomparably large and costly, all made in a spirit of personal attachment. He does not seem to have ever enquired what was done with the huge amounts of money paid by him. He did not show any preference for any Sri Vaishnava connected or unconnected with the temple. Achyutadēva Maharaya was more demonstrative and egotistic as a Sri Vaishnava. Even he does not appear to have interfered in the administration of the temple.

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Sadāsivadeva Maharava seems to have been all humility His visits could not have been more than two He made no large endowments personally he did however encourage those who gave their all to the service of the temple and set his heart on making arrangements which tended to give greater creature comforts to the ever increasing number of pilgrims Benefactions on a large scale were by far greater during his reign mostly by private agencies

Speaking of private agencies and endowments we should do justice to the residents of Tirupati and Chandragiri of those days and describe the part played by them The Archakas Tirumalai Nambi and Anandālvāra laboured on the Hill a thousand years ago Then came the Jiyars and other Āchāryapurushas, who served the temple since then It has to be noted from the inscriptions that they did not lead a parasitic life on the temple When no crown seemed to sit surely and safely on the head of the wearer, the citizens of Tirupati the Sabhālvāras of the surrounding villages and the permanent religious office bearers of the temple shouldered the responsibility for the management of the temple They were given the highest respect by local rulers and military commanders made their own contributions as endowments from out of their small savings influenced their spiritual disciples to do likewise went about the country doing propaganda in the name of Tiruvengada

DVIJAS AND NON-DVIJAS

mudaiyān, made the temple famous and themselves prosperous. The extent of their endowments was not insignificant and will be dealt with in detail later. Such names as Kollikkavalī dāsar Mallanagal or Madhvasasar of Chandragiri, Tirukkalkānṛdāsar Aḷagappirānar, Thōlappar Ayyangar of the Soṭṭai Tirumalai Nambī family, Kumāra Tāttayyangar, Srinivasa Tāttayyangar, Kōṭi Kannikadanam Kumāra Tāttayyangar, Anandālvar, Kōyil Kandāḍai Annan, Kandāḍai Ramanuja Ayyangar, Kandāḍai Doḍḍayyangar of Sholinghur, Piati-vādhī Bhayankaram Annan, Tiruvenkatachāṇi (Chakravartī family), Alagiya Manavāḷa Jiyar, Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar, Emperumanar Jiyar and his successors, Van Saṭthagopa Jiyar and his successor Nārayana Jiyar of the Ahobila Maṭham, Sri Vyāsa Thirtha Sri Pada Udayar, Dēvaraja Bhattar of the Archaka family, the various members of the mercantile community of Tirupati (very many of whom have made large endowments), the temple accountants going by the name of Tirumunra-ūr-Udayar, the dancing girls known as Emperumāṇḍiṇis attached to the temple in their numbers, all have made notable endowments at critical periods in the history of the temple

One great experiment in softening the acerbities of social inequalities was made by them five centuries ago. The recitation of the Tiruvaimolī by the Dvijas and the non-Dvijas alike in Sri Ramanuja's Shrine in Tirumalai and sharing of

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prasadam on terms of equality was so long ago as 1467 A D introduced and practised. The non Dwijas represented by the Sāttāda Śrī Vaiṣṇavas were accorded the privilege of making the daily offering with full paraphernalia of 'Parimalam' used for the first function of the daily puja called Tirumanjanam (Abhishekam). These articles have been used for the holy bath and the emoluments given in return were received by them daily. Such a function seems to have no parallel in the history of any other temple. This will also be gone into at length later.

The inscriptions of the post Talikota period show distinctly that royal patronage diminished or even disappeared. The only exceptions to this are the charities of Matla Kumara Anantaraja who built a number of temples and gopurams in Tirupatī, Kalahastī, Nandalur, Kanchī, Thruvallur etc. and endowed for several free feeding houses. Almost all endowments have been made by private individuals and several of them belonged to the Achiaryapurusha families. During that period money seems to have become so scarce that donors carried out the repairs to existing irrigation channels and excavation of a few new ones in return for which the Sthanattur undertook to perform certain services for the merit of the donor commensurate with the additional yield of grains secured by the repairs etc. In 1691 we find a donor Dabirshaw—giving away a gold Khanti at

its market value as an endowment in place of cash
Villages were of course endowed

Speaking of endowment of villages, it may be mentioned that about 200 of them were, or ought to have been, in possession of the Sthanattar scattered over wide tracts of the country. A detailed list of these with particulars will be given later. But from the middle of the 15th Century A D it was realised that the Sthanattar could not do justice to the job of supervision and collection of rents, which probably were in kind. A separate **department known as the Tiruppani Bhandaram (Public works) was opened.** We have not been able to find out who were, or were not eligible to be, members of this committee. But we know that it **functioned as a separate body, but in conjunction with the Sri Bhandaram.** While the latter may be called the Finance Department, the former corresponds to the Department of Works (Buildings and Irrigation including collection of rents.) Yet another had to be created about the end of the 15th century to be in charge of gold, bullion, jewellery, gold vessels, costly silks etc, and to see to their repairs and upkeep¹. But whatever other departments were created, there is no evidence anywhere in the inscriptions to show that the conduct of rituals and festivals was subject to the supervision and interference of any secular body. We may go further and state that there was perfect amity among the Sri Vaishnavas, whether engaged in

1 Por-Bhandaram

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

the services or otherwise in all ritualistic matters. It has already been pointed out that this went to the extent of admitting all Sri Vaishnavas, Dwijas and non Dwijas to a due share in the performance of semi religious service and to sharing of emoluments. But this seems to have been confined to that section known as Sri Vaishnavas. When there appeared the possibility of even Dwijas of other religious persuasion legitimately claiming the right to partake in services, such a service seems to have been sedulously and silently smothered. That appears to be the reason why Vēdaparayanam service failed to take root in Tirumalai. By common consent it would look like the sharing of prasadam having been denied to them while for the prahbandams recital there was liberal remuneration. This has been a dominant feature of this temple.

Before closing these introductory remarks it is necessary to mention a few prominent points.

In Tirumalai temple there are separate shrines dedicated to Sri Varadarajaswami, Sri Ranganatha and Sri Narasimhaswami whereas Sri Rama and Sri Krishna are accommodated inside in the pantheon. In none of the other premier temples (Kanchipuram or Srirangam) is there a corresponding provision for Tiruvengadamudaiyan. It is easy to explain. The shrines for Sri Varadaraja Ranganatha and Narasimha came to be built about the second half of the 14th century at a time

OTHER SHRINES

when the desecration and spoliation of Hindu Idols and temples was in swing under Malik Kafur and Muhammad Toghlaq Tradition tells us that Ranganatha was accommodated for three or four decades in Tirumalai Although a shrine for Varadaraja was built some time before 1350 A D it does not appear that the Kānchipuram idol was accommodated in Tirumalai We know that in 1481, the Muslim armies swooped down to the gates of the Kānchipuram temple, plundered all the jewels and massacred the Srivaishnavas there. There was likewise during all those days the risk of the Ahōbīlam Narasimhaswami temple being desecrated Perhaps the God was for some time in Tirumalai We know from tradition that Ādivaṇṇa Sathagopa Swami took charge of the small idol (whom we would call the Mantra Salaḥ Nara-simham) and kept Him away from Ahobīlam ever since in the Ahobīla Mutt without a definite habitation for some centuries

These are referred to for the purpose of informing readers that **Tirumalai served as a sort of refugee camp for Vaishnavite idols of antiquity.**

The next item relates to **Tiruvenkata Mahatmyam or Venkatachala Mahatmyam.** It will be discussed at length separately But enough for the present to state that it could claim no more antiquity than 1491 A D It was composed, or compiled, by one Pāsindi Venkatatturaivaḥ and read with Arulappādu (or divine permission) in that year.

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Therefore all the traditions relating to Alamel mangai Thayar of Tiruchanoor must be taken with a pinch of salt. Sri Padmavati Amman (or Alamel Mangai of Tiruchanur) is nowhere referred to in our inscriptions. The presumptions of the T T Devasthanam Epigraphist and his interpolations in brackets in the course of his translation of the original Tamil text are unwarranted. The Alamel Mangai referred to in the inscriptions distinctly points to Bhudevi on the left bosom or Vakshasthalam of Tiruvēngadamudaiyan. The word Alamel Mangai Nachohiar Sannidhi occurs for the first time only in 1477 A.D. and not before, although Pulugu Kappu Murai for Tiruvengadamudaiyan was in vogue from much earlier times.

So are the terms Kapila Thirtham and Sri Kapilesvara Swami Temple in reference to Ālvar Tirtham in Tirupati. Nowhere in the text, until we reach the year 1865 A.D. does the term Kapila Tirtham appear and Sri Mahant Dharmadasji introduced that name. It was in the year 1563 A.D. that the God there is referred to as Kapilesvar Navinar. Before that date there was no mention of a temple of that name nor of the waterfall and the pond having been called Kapila Tirtham. In all the inscriptions the waterfall goes by the name of Alvar Tirtham (the word Ālvar having reference to Sudarsana Ālvar or Chakratta[var]) since it is stated in one of the inscriptions that according to the rites prescribed by Sri Ramanuja the waters

there were sanctified by the advent of Śrī Govindarajaswami with Śrī Devī, Bhū Devī and Chakratālvar. This matter also will be dealt with separately.

The subject matter of the inscriptions has been indicated in brief in this introduction. The temptation remains to put into a few sentences the important events connected with the history of this temple. A table of chronology will be added later showing in detail the salient events. But a brief account may not be unwelcome to many.

Apparently because Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyān on the Hill was inaccessible to most devotees, and probably at the instance of some of the Ālvārs and more probably Tirumangai Ālvār (when Śrīman Nātha Munigal and Uyyakkondār were yet in their teens) a Tiruvilankōyil was reared in Tiruchchokunur about the year which represented the 51st year of the reign of the Pallava King Vijaya Danti Vikrama Varman and a perpetual lamp to represent or symbolise the ever burning light of true knowledge was set up, the corresponding probable year of the christian era being about 826 A.D. With the downfall of the Pallava power in 900 A.D. and the advent of the Chola supremacy, a Śiva temple also (Śrī Parasareswara's temple) came into existence in the same place, possibly having the Royal support. By about the year 960 A.D. when Śrīmad Yāmuni Munī, the grand-son of Śrīman Nātha Munī and the great systematiser of Śrī

Vaishnava theology and Vaishnava Agamas was at the height of his influence it must have been considered an act of wisdom to transfer the worship of the Tiruvēngadam God to His rightful place on the Hill so that all possible chances of a sectarian friction may be avoided. For after all, Tiruvilan kōyil idol was only a Deputy of the Hill God. A silver image, being the replica of the main idol, was made the consecration duly performed and arrangements made for the daily conduct of worship for two Brahmotsavams in the year and for the observance of certain calendar days. This may have been in 966 A.D. This was the period when Sri Ālavandar and his grandson Tirumalai Nambi were the Sri Vaishnava leaders. Sri Ramanuja was or is said to have been born only in 1017 A.D. Sri Ramanuja must have clearly seen that a temple and a God on the inaccessible Hill with very limited accommodation could not serve as a rallying place for Sri Vaishnava devotees. He must have had the ambition of a universal conversion to his faith. Just about that time the Chola King who was a Saivite ordered that the image of Sri Govindaraja of Chidambaram should be thrown into the sea as the sea was the legitimate place of repose for Vishnu. This image was taken hold of, removed to Tirupati and the temple of Sri Govindaraja erected just to the right of Sri Parthasarathyswami as we face the shrine. The location of Sri Govindaraja shows clearly that he came in as a refugee. But the temple and Tirupati grew in importance because

SRI GOVINDARAJA'S TEMPLE, TIRUPATI

the temple was from its inception affiliated to the Tirumalai Temple. The place served as a base for pilgrims to commence their journey up the Hill. Further it was the policy of Sri Ramanuja's successors to construct a number of subsidiary shrines affiliating them to the Hill temple, although each had its own resources to fall back upon. Also a clever move was set on foot, of sending down from Tirumalai certain prasadams, such as Chandanam, Vastram, Appa padī, Tīrtam etc., on the Sāttunūnai day of the respective presiding deity heralded by full temple paraphernalia, honours, Adhyāpākam and Vēdapārāyana Gōshṭi and conveyed on the back of elephants in procession. It must always have been a grand sight and a gala day for pilgrims and the residents of Tirupati. The whole show contributed to make Tirumalai and Tirupati famous. But during the days of Sri Ramanuja, such things had not taken definite shape. They came in at least two centuries after him. In fact there were no Ālvārs or Acharyas inside the temple nor even in Tirupati during Ramanuja's days. Even the unfailing performance of routine worship seems to have been a doubtful matter till we reach the year about 1200 A D.

It must have been about 1160 A D or soon after, that the foundations of the Gopurams in Tirumalai (and perhaps in Tirupati also) were laid. The earliest inscription we find on the basement of the inner Gopuram may be assigned by inference to about

1180 A.D. The Yādavaraya Kings of Narayana vanam were the early and the great patrons of the temple the greatest of them being Vira Narasinga Yādavaraya. It was during his days that the renovation of the garbhagriham in a grand style (சேய்வழவாசு சேய்வழவாசு சேய்வ) was made and the gold gilt Vimanam and Kalasam were set up by him thus making the Tirumalai temple rival Suragiri (Mount Meru) in brilliance. This was about 1250 A.D. Under his eyes the Tirupati temple also grew in importance a four faced car was built and a golden Kalasam was placed thereon.

Then came the onrush of Malik Kafur's troops destroying and looting Hindu temples and Idols. Up to this date Tirupati temples had only Brahmotsavam seven in number month after month in Tirumalai and two in Tirupati. There were some Tungal Divasams (sacred days) also observed. The destruction of temples in the south and more the fear of such misdeeds, drove thousands of devout Hindus up to Tirumalai and Tirupati which somehow (and naturally attributed to the power of Tiru vengadamudaiyan) escaped the iconoclast. This was all after 1300 A.D. and right up to 1360 A.D. These Tanals whose rituals of temple worship commenced long before the birth of Yamuna Muni and Ramanuja were well verred in the Tiruvoimoli (Alwar Sri Sūktis) and attached greater importance to their recital than that of Vedaparnyanam. While before 1336 no trace of a processional deity

NEW FESTIVALS

and the two Nāchchimar's can be seen in any of the inscriptions, thereafter they appear unfailingly in all processions. Processions, Āsthānams, and Thiruvōlakkam (food offerings of varieties on a large scale intended for distribution) multiplied in numbers. New kinds of festivals in imitation of the practice in the South Tamil country were instituted—Hunting festival, Yachting or Floating festival, swing or Unjal festival, Pavitrōtsavam (the only sastric one), Adhyayanōtsavam (recital of the entire Thiruvaimoli in 10 to 20 days), marriage festival for the God, Fruit eating festival (Phalōtsavam, Sahasranāmōtsavam, Sahasrakalasabhīsham, festivals on calendar days such as new moon, full moon, Ekadasi, Dvādasi, Sankramanams etc., etc., multiplied Ālvārs and Acharyas and even one's own ancestors were given birth-day celebrations and Sāttumurai. So much so at the beginning of the 17th century A.D. there were 429 festivals for 365 days of the year. If ever there was a Vēdaparayanam, it ceased to be uttered until Devaraya Maharaya II thought it desirable to make a permanent arrangement for its recital, although according to ancient rule and custom, the Vedas should not be recited for remuneration. This was about 1443 A.D.

In the meantime, the result of the Muslim invasion was that the Yadavarayas and the Pandyas were wiped out and the Vijayanagar Kings stepped on the stage. Bukkaraya sought the blessings of

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Tiruvengadamudaiyan about 1365 A.D. by offering one Sandhi food and by instituting a Brahmotsavam. Sāluva Mangideva, one of his feudatories in Chandragiri gold gilt the Vimanam of the Tirumalai God for the second time in 1409 A.D. Devaraya made some substantial arrangements for food offerings in 1429 A.D. Saluva Narasimha, the trusted Minister and Commander in Chief of the Vijaya nagar Kings till 1485 took the greatest interest in these temples. Under the advice of a Brahmin Kandadaḥ Ramanuja Ayyangar Narasimha converted them into a true copy of any of the South Indian Tamil Śrīvaiṣṇava Temples, the introduction of the dancing girls not being excepted.

This period between 1450 and 1494 has its own merits and demerits but the merits predominate. After some not very eventful years we pass on to the period of Śrī Virapratapa Vira Krishnadōva Maharaya unequalled for his munificence grandeur freedom from sectarianism and the ease with which he kept himself above the influence of self interested devotees. He showered gold jewellery pitambaras costly vessels covered the Vimanam with gold gilt never looked to his right or his left as to who took all that wealth or managed it in the name of God. He lost his only son and yet did not lose his faith in his own personal God Tiruvēṅgamudaiyan. He might have recalled by then that washing himself and his blood stained sword in

Rameswaram could not wipe out the consequences of his many sins. Analysing all the emperors of the Vijayanagar Dynasties—others did very little for this temple in comparison—we find none second to him, unless it be the unostentatious Sadasivaraya Maharaya. Aliya Rāmaraya, the King-maker, is represented in Telugu Kavyas as a depraved man and tyrant. But from our inscriptions, we must say that he was magnanimous with a sigh for the hard lot of the poor man.

Private endowments were always given in plenty for this temple. It should certainly be an interesting pastime for those responsible for the secular management of these temples to find out in what manner these endowments slipped out of the Devasthanam. They may learn a lesson for the future. That Hindu religious Endowments have been a fruitful source for misappropriation and embezzlement, our inscriptions show to be only partially correct. Only in a few cases we find that a donor endows village; everything is intact excepting the name of the village which has been cleanly chiselled out. This is no plea for Government management which can and did with impunity perpetrate worse deeds.

Endowments were invariably burdened to the full with services to be rendered and food offerings to be made. When in some instances the income fell short of the requirements additional endowments were demanded and furnished.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Worship was free to every pilgrim. No fee was ever demanded. The aim was to provide food and shelter free to all pilgrims. It was only when the muslim rulers assumed ownership of the temples as an estate that the system of farming out the temple to a renter was introduced to provide income to the ruler. This was brought to light when the East India Company came forward to safe guard the income of the temple which the Nabab of Arcot had mortgaged to the company, against depredations made by the Maharattas the French and the freebooters. As evils invariably take deeper root even after the causes which bred them originally are removed the levy of fees for worship still continues in the name of the good administration of religious institutions.

After the fall of the Vijayanagar Empire private benefactors maintained the grate ness of the institution till the Muslims the Maharattas and ultimately John Company came in as masters. The history of these periods is wrapped up in obscurity and could be written if the Government of Madras will arrange for the study of records in its possession.



CHAPTER V

Tiruvengadam and Tiruchchokinur (or Tiruchchukanur)

EARLY ACCOUNTS

In this chapter an attempt is made to trace the *modus operandi* of the early Vaishnavas of the Bhakti school to make the Vēngadam Hill easily accessible to worshippers of Vishnu, and incidentally to gain popularity for the Pancharatra system of idol worship as contrasted with the Vaikhanasa system which was perhaps the more common one. The difference between the two may be compared to the difference between the Anglican and the Reformed Church, or that between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants. The Pancharatra made it possible for any brahmin of education, culture and character to get himself initiated as an archaka whereas the Vaikhanasa tenet reserved the privilege to brahmins born in the old Vaikhanasa family. The base of operation nearest to Tirumalai was Tiruchchokinur as Tirupati had not then come into existence. An auxiliary temple was constructed there and a duplicate Tiruvēngadamudaiyān was installed. Conversion of Saivites into Vaishnavism was obviously carried on in a supplementary shrine where another image was set-up to preside over the conversion ceremony. By the time attempts were made by the Saivites to stem this tide by the

construction of a temple for Śiva in the same village (Śrī Parāśarēśvara or Tīppalādisvaramudaiyān) it was considered better to transfer the work to Tirumalai itself by entering into some sort of an agreement with the Vaikhanasas there

Vēṅgadam (or Tiruvēṅgadam) is the name of the Hill according to the Tamil grammar *Tolkappiyam*. The Sangam poet Māmūlanār gives the same name to the Hill. But the name of the Deity Tiruvēṅgadamudaiyān (or any variant thereof) is not mentioned by either of the above, nor is the existence of any temple for any other Deity mentioned. Māmūlanār seems to refer to festivals and fairs thereon as being occasions for drunken bouts and for exchange of certain commodities by barter. The Tamil classical work *Śilappadhikaram* gives a description of the Deity on the Vengadam Hill which clearly shows that the Deity is Viṣṇu. The Alvars have as already pointed out earlier in this book described the Deity as one having Śiva also in Himself. Chronologically these are to be ascribed to the 8th Century A.D. or even earlier.

We have now to examine and find out what the inscriptions in Vengadam and Tiruchchoklnur have to tell us on this subject. Tiruchchoklnur is now brought in since the earliest inscriptions—that is all those that are found till we reach the date of the consecration of the Manavalapperumāl in the Tiruvengadam Temple—are to be found only in Tiruchchoklnur. The only exception to this is the solitary

slab which was found as a stray piece in front of the Tiruvengadam temple. This contains an incomplete inscription commemorating the birth of one Vijayāditya whom we identify with one of the local Bāna Rulers. As will be presently shown Vijayāditya might have been born about the year 790 A.D. The year of the consecration of Manavalapperumal as will be shown later, was much later than this. There is an interval of one and three-quarter centuries between the two during which period there are no inscriptions in Tirumalai to tell us anything about the temple on the Hill.

There are however inscriptions which were found in Tiruchchōkinur and which give information about a temple there for Tiruvēngadat-tupperumānāḍigal. There are eight inscriptions in Tiruchchōkinur which relate to this period. These are numbered 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 12 and 13 in Vol. I of the T. T. Devasthanam Inscriptions. No. 3 is the one which was found in Tirumalai commemorating the birth of Vijayāditya. If we can find out the probable date of the birth of this Vijayāditya we will have found the date of this inscription. In the note attached to this chapter this date has been with tolerable accuracy fixed as 790 A.D. This will be about 40 years after the writing of the Tamil classic *Silappadhikaram*. From the description given in that work of the Deity in Tiruvengadam, we have to conclude that there might have existed in 756 A.D. a temple or structure which permitted

the Sun and the Moon to shed their light on the figure of the Deity Nor was it likely that a pukka temple was constructed between the years 756 A.D and 790 A.D If there existed a structure, Vijaya ditya's birth would have been commemorated on some portion of its walls, since he was the cherished (like the Sarika bird on earth) son of the Bana Ruler, Mavalī Banarāya of the Vaduguvalī twelve thousand within which Tiruvengadam was situated

The earliest inscription found in Tiruchchōkinur was made in the 51st regnal year of Kōvijaya Dantivikramar This we take to be 826 A D This inscription tells us in distinct terms that a proxy of Tiruvēngadatupperumanadigal existed in the Tiruvilankōyil at Tiruchchōkinur "திருச்சேமி ஸூர்த்திருவேகடத்த ஸம்பெருமானடிசைக்கு ஸமூதருசிகித்த திருவிளங்கோலிற் பெருமானடிசைக்கு " The construction of the phrase (in tamil) is that the Tiruch chokinur Tiruvongadathu Perumanadigal was in existence there and that a Tiruvilankoyilperuman also was set up as a junior Murti (or Utsavar) The T T D Epigraphist introduces the expression (as a representation of) The proper phrase would be to represent The main point to note in this inscription is that a Tiruvilankoyil (or proxy temple) for the Tiruvengadam Deity was built and that a proxy Deity was set up (சூர்த்து சிகித்த) The donor knew that it was not an independent templo with a Svavam vyakta Murti in it and that a proxy Deity only was set up for the convenience

of people. There seem to be some who take the view that the Deity on the Hill was not known as Tiruvengadattupperuman, but only as Subramanya, and that the Deity in Tiruchchokinur only was Tiruvengadattu Peruman. It is an assumption not warranted by the language used. The term Tiruchchokinur Tiruvengadattupperumanadigal would only go to show that he was not the Original Deity on the Vengadam Hill, but only a copy thereof. There were temples dedicated to Tiruvengadattupperuman in other places also. There would have been a Mula Murti set up in Tiruchchokinur and a processional Deity would also have been set up some time later as is stated in the inscription. Sōlanāttu Ulagapperumānār made a cash endowment in gold for setting up a perpetual lamp before the Tiruvilankoil Perumanadigal (or the Utsava Murti).

In addition to these two Murtis, there is a third one also mentioned in the endowment made by Vijayāditya, the Tirumantrasalai Perumanadigal. The last named may have been set up later than 826 A D and before the date of Vijayaditya's endowment whose date is missing owing to the first part of the inscription being not on the stone. But it may be safely assumed to be about 870 A D. Vijayaditya was the ruler and therefore had the power to set apart the income realised through the Bayyan Kōll, whatever that term may connote. From this inscription we learn that there was a Ūṇi-niyogam or village council, that the temple

was managed by a Kōyirkōn and that the head of the servants in the temple was called Valluvakkōn. Three distinct murtis are mentioned the Tiruvilan kōyil Perumānadīgal the Tirumantra Sālai Perumā nadīgal and the Tiruvenkatatṭinpperumanadīgal. From the fact that the Mula Murti is mentioned last there is room for the assumption that the first two referred to the local Deities and the last to the God on the Tiruvengadam Hill. If the last one really referred to the Tiruchchokinur Mula Murti mention should have been made of that Deity first the other two coming next.

Regarding the Tirumantra Sālai Perumanadī gal an endowment by one Guṇavan Aparajitan Head of the Irungōlas or Irungōlakkōn gives some informatoin. We gather that Brahmns were being fed in that temple. Tirumantra Sālai is as the name indicates the temple or shrine where the new convert to the Vaishnava faith was initiated into the Aṣṭakshara or Tirumantram. It therefore happened to be the place where the convert was also provided with food for the day. The endowment made by Guṇavan Aparajitan was for feeding two Brahmns daily not necessarily Vaishnavas. Since the Pallava sovereignty came to an end with Aparajitan we may take it that his vassal Guṇavan made the endowment some time before 900 A D, may be about 880 A D. How the Tiruvilankōyil was kept going immediately after the downfall of the Pallava Dynasty and before the Chola rule

asserted itself, can be seen from an inscription dated Saka 824 (அண்ணாற்றிறுபதிநால..... or 902 A.D.) The Āyirakkāḍi and the ūrāṭchi who were the administrative officers of Tiruchchōkinur decided that the net income received from the administration of the village, after defraying the expenses for the customary and obligatory services, should be utilised for the Tiruvilankōyil. This is obviously an extraordinary step which they had to take as the normal administration had broken down. This shows that the village council or assembly shouldered the responsibility of administration in a case of emergency.

The necessity for and the function of a Tirumantira salai may well be more fully explained. In our days we are accustomed to have what are known as the Pancha Bēram in a temple. There is the Mula Murthi who is the immoveable Idol. There is also the portable Utsavamurti along with the two consorts (Nachchimars) for festival purpose. There are three others also Kautuka, Snapana and Bali Berams, for certain specific functions. The early centuries of our inscriptions concern a period of Viṣṇu temple worship anterior to the days of Sri Alavandar, and more so of Sri Ramanuja. The present Agama form of worship was codified by Sri Alavandar, as far as we can understand.

Tiruvilankoyil.

The Tiruvilankoyil and the Tirumantira salai are mentioned only during that early period and

not later We have already explained the term Tiruvilankoyil as a proxy temple representing and next in importance to the original temple An analogous term is Ilavarasu or Ilayarāja Tiruvilankoyil should not be confounded with the term Bālālayam Balalayam denotes a temporary structure created for transferring thereto the Divinity enshrined in the main Deity and his Koyil-alvar (Garbha Griham) during the period that any repairs may have to be carried As soon as the repairs are finished there is a retransference of the Divinity to the Original Murti When a new Murti is to be set up there will be no room for a Balalayam Murti The new Murti will however be enshrined in a Koyil or Koyilalvar which along with the Murti will be duly consecrated If it is only a proxy or Junior Murti who will be added, a Tiruvilankoyil will be built and consecrated along with that Murti if the intention of the donor is to maintain that Murti separately Balalayam and Tiruvilankoyil should not therefore be equated A Tiruvilankoyil need not necessarily be a building with walls all round and with doorway It may as well be a mantapam with in some cases walls on either side the front and rear being left open If one would look at the plan of the Garbhagriham the Pradakshinam around it and the front mantapam flanked by the pradakshinam walls in the Tirupati Govindarajaswami temple the idea of a Tiruvilankoyil will be clear For purposes of certain festivals including Snapana Tirumanjanam

the Utsava Murti with Nachchimar will be accommodated in that mantapam. It will be a Tiruvilankoyil during the function. In the case of Tirumalai temple, the Sthapana mantapam, the proper name being Snapana mantapam, functioned as the Tiruvilankoyil till the commencement of the 15th century A.D. when the Tirumāmani Mantapam was constructed. Throughout the Brahmotsavam period the Utsava Murti would have been there alone, that is to say for months till the Deepavali Asthanam. In more recent times the Kalyana Mantapam came into use as the Tiruvilankoyil. Tiruvilankoyil does not carry with it the same sense of sanctity as Koyil alvar, or Garbhagriham. Any mantapam can be made a Tiruvilankoyil by a simple Samprokshana.

Tirumantirasalaipperuman.

In the early days one of the main functions of the leaders of Vaishnavism was to convert the Saivites to Vaishnavism. It is a well known fact that branding on the forepart of the shoulders with the Chakram and Sankham marks was a necessary function before being initiated into the Tirumantram or Ashtaksharam. He must be an acknowledged and accredited Acharya who can do this. Tradition tells us that Tirumalai nambi gave his two sisters in marriage only after the intended bridegroom embraced Vaishnavism and went through the ceremony of branding and initiation into ashtakshara. Sri Ramanuja's father is one of the two. We

know that Sri Ramanuja created a band of 72 persons known as Simhāsanādhipatis who were given the authority and the power to carry on this proselytising work. But our inscriptions relate to a period which may be at least two centuries anterior to Sri Ramanuja. The procedure adopted at that time seems to be that the function took place in the presence of the Deity in the Tirumantirasālai. The Sudarsana and the Panchajanya blocks used for the branding would have been duly consecrated and in enjoyment of the daily puja to the Deity. It is only such a consecrated instrument that would have been permitted to be used for the ceremony. After the daily Tiruvārādhnam was over the branding would take place. In all the Sri Vaishnava Mathanis there is a presiding Deity and the Sudarsanam and Pānohajanyam also share the daily puja. The acharya purushas who have been doing this work have likewise been doing puja to some Murti or other and the Sudarsanam and Panchajanyam would find a place in the pantheon. After Sri Ramanuja organised his School of Acharyas there was no need for a Tirumantirasālai in temples. But before his days there were only a few recognised Acharyas, The templo was therefore the most accredited place. Even to this day this kind of branding takes place in Tirumalai by the seven recognised Acharya Purushas of the Temple during the Brahmotsavam.

We can now have a clear picture of the three Murtis (with perhaps a separate templo for each)

existing in Tiruchchokunur at the time of the downfall of the Pallava supremacy and the establishment of that of the Cholas

There are two more of the Tiruchchokunur inscriptions which give room for doubtful interpretation. These are in the early period of the Chola rule and probably of the years 935 and 927 A.D. Inscription No 12 was made in the 29th regnal year of Kōparakesari Panniar (Parantaka I).

It reads "மதினாசேனாட சோழபகேசரி பன்னாரு
யாண்டு இருபத்தேழாண்டாபத்து திருவெங்கட -"

(2) . சகு ஒன்றிதுங்கு திருவெங்கட சோட்டத்தி
குடஞ் ஈட்டு திருசேனாதினா வாழ்வை"

It ends with "வாழ்வையோடு அமரபெருமானை
யா வாழ்த்து".

The 29th regnal year is 935 A.D. One Kodungōlūrān ('சோழபகேசரி') of Malainadu made an endowment of 40 kaḷanju of gold for burning a perpetual lamp in front of Tiruvenkata, and the amount was received by the Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchokunur for due performance of the trust. The inscription breaks off at Tiruvenkata and leaves us in doubt whether it was for Tiruchchokunur Tiruvenkata or the Tiruvenkata on the Hill that the trust was meant. The doubt arises for the reason that all the inscriptions previous to this date (i.e. 935 A.D.) show that the managers of the temple (Sri Karyam) were taking charge of such endowments, and the endowments were for the Tiruch-

ohokinur Temple The powers of the manager of the temple would be limited to the affairs of that temple When as in this case the Sabhaiyars step in as trustees the presumption would be that the trust was meant for a temple outside the jurisdiction of the managers of the Tiruchohokinur temple The only other Tiruvenkata was on the Vengadam Hill This theory is based on the assumption that the Sabhaiyar co-existed with the managers of a temple and appears to be correct from a reading of inscriptions Nos. 8 and 9 (Vol.I) of the same Chola period, where the Sabhaiyar and the managers of the temple of Vengadam are mentioned side by side If our surmise is correct, then we glean for the first time that there was a temple on the Vengadam Hill in 935 A.D. where a perpetual lamp could have safely burnt Also that the Sabhaiyar of Tiruchohokinur had the responsibility to look after its affairs.

There is also another piece of information which appears in clearer terms than in a previous inscription In the latter¹ which deals with an endowment for burning perpetual lights the word Emperuman adiyō appears in a broken form (ஊமபெருமானடியோ) It is not clear whether Emperumanadiyars refers to some agency which looked after the due performance of the charity In the inscription we are now considering (I 12 of 975 A.D.) the inscription closes with the expression ஊமபெருமானடியார் எனப் Emperumanadiar Rakshai who are therefore expected

1 I 4.

2 I 4. Endowments by Vijayaditya.

to protect the trust. This term obviously is intended to denote those who were devotees of Emperuman whether Vishnu in general, or the particular Deity Tiruvenkatattupperuman. This term marks one phase in the history of Vaishnavism. We will see that a quarter of a century later, this phrase yields place to "Sri Vaishnava Rakshai" when Samavar consecrated the Silver Idol of Manavalapperumal in the Vengadam Temple in 966 A.D. Inscription No. 13 is probably of the date 927 and might refer to the Hill Temple.

As we are now studying the Tiruchchokinur inscriptions we will take up all the incomplete ones available. Inscriptions N., 15 and 17 refer to some endowment made by one Arulakkī, alias Raja Raja Mūvēnda Vēlan. Being incomplete slabs we are not in a position to learn what the endowments were. But they were made when Raja Raja I was the Chola Emperor and therefore must have been between 985 and 1013 A.D. and the endowments may have been for the Deity in Tiruchcholinur either in the Vishnu or the Siva temple. The next one of which we can make some sense is of the 4th regnal year of Raja Raja III (1220 A.D.)¹ According to that inscription (incomplete one) Pokkāran Pāndya-daraiyan made an endowment for the Vaikāsi festival of Aḷagīya perumāl (in Tiruchchukanur obviously). There is thus a gap of over 200 years between the last one and this. Another inscription² of about the same time (may be 1225 A.D.), although

an incomplete one has enough words to show that Andars son made a gift of land somewhere in Perumbanappadi to the Tiruvilanko—for the spiritual benefit of Narayana who died some time ago while fighting for Yadava Rayar. The battle of Uratti is obviously referred to, which took place in 1223 A.D.

There are three more incomplete inscriptions which may be referred to the same period when Pandiyadaraiyar was the Pokkaran and the manager of the Siva Temple in Tiruchchekinur. These are I 95, 96 and 97. The first and the third are on the west and the east wall of the Vāhana Mantapam and the second on the east prakaram wall adjoining the gōpuram of Sri Padmavati Anuman's temple. They will be between 1230-1240 A.D. The first one mentions an endowment of some land, whose location is clearly described for the Nitya Utsavam of Emperuman. The second one is not intelligible. The third one seems to be an endowment by Pandiyadaraiyar perhaps for Tiruvilanko in the shape of grain and cash to be enjoyed by the Emperumanadiyar and the four gōtra (people) during Panguni Festival. There is next an inscription which refers to an Ubhaiyam (I 108) which a number of persons viz. (Pallava) rayan Yadavnraya Vilupparaiyan Sōla Vilupparaiyan Triknrtarayan and also the kaikkōlnr and Emperumānnadiyar¹ had

¹ By the time this endowment was made in the time of Raja Raya III the term Emperumānnadiyar had come to signify dancing girls attached to Vishnu temples

undertaken to perform. The temple treasury is referred to as Sri Bhandāram. It ends with Sri Vaishnava Rakshai. We cannot possibly fix the year, although from the language and contents, the year must be later than 1240 A.D.

Lastly there are eight more fragmentary inscriptions all found in Tiruchchukanur. Of these No. 129 is probably the earlier and is on the east wall north of the Padikavalī Gopuram. It mentions 40 Kalāṇi of gold. The word "Dēverku" தேவர்கு occurs and may refer to Tiruvengada Devar. It ends with Emperumanadiyar Rakshai. We know that this subscription was in use about 935 A.D. We also know that the term Tiruvenkata Dēvar was being used by the early Cholas (as in I. 19). The date of this inscription would therefore be before 966 A.D. when the phrase Sri Vaishnava Rakshai came first into use. Inscriptions Nos 127 and 128 are of interest in that they mention Sri Vaishnavas of eighteen Nādus பதினெட்டு நாடடு முனை "No 128 ends with " ஷ்வரகெசு. The date must therefore be after 966 A.D. Inscriptions Nos 118 to 122 all seem to refer to a period anterior to 1000 A.D. No 118 mentions of the Srī-kāryam people and the Tiruvilankoyil and would therefore refer to a date before 900 A.D.

We have thus every reason to suspect that the Tiruvilankoyil in Tiruchchukanur began to decline after 1000 A.D. although as a building the Tiruvilankoyil continued to exist. We also notice that a new Alagiya Perunal came into existence. Later still we come to notice the existence of a Varadarajapperumal.

CHAPTER VI

The Temple of Sri Parasareswara in Tiruchchukanur

In the introductory chapter or synopsis it was stated that the silver replica of Tiruvengadamudaiyan was consecrated in Tirumalai with a view to avoiding any possible source of friction between the Saivites and the Vaishnavites, since a temple for Siva known as Sri Parasaresvaraswami was constructed sometime after the Tiruvilankoyil in Tiruchchukanur. There is no mention anywhere that tension existed between the two sects at that period in Tiruchchukanur. It was also pointed out as the result of a close study of the wording of some inscriptions that the Vaishnavite temple was doing proselytising work and therefore open to all and that feeding also was open to members of both sects on equal terms. There was therefore the possibility of friction and the astute Vaishnavas of the day wanted to eliminate all chances of such friction arising at a future date. Right up to the days of Sri Ramanuja, however, there was no sign of such friction. There is a well known story that one day when Sri Ramanuja as one of the students of the Advaitin Sri Yadava prakasa, was anointing the head of his guru with oil for a bath Yadavaprakasa gave what was, on the face of it a blasphemous interpretation of a portion of the Chandogya Upanishad 'Tasya

yathā kapyāsam pundarikam ēvam akshinī” in reference to the Purusha who is in the Sun, which brought tears from the eyes of the disciple and which fell on the thigh of the guru. The latter looked up and quickly understood the cause. This must have been when Sri Ramanuja was about 18 years of age (in 1035 A.D.). There were a few more similar instances which brought about estrangement between the student and his guru but there never

1. It was Sankara's interpretation of the words in verse 7 of Chandogya Upamshed section 1 that brought tears from the eyes of Ramanuja when he was studying under Yadavaprakasa. Sankara attached to the word kapyāsa the meaning, the parts around the postical calosities of the monkey (Kanyasa, from-Kapi monkey and Asi to sit). Translated into English Sankara's interpretation of verses 6 and 7 conveys the meaning (in Speaking of the Purusha seated inside the Sun) "Of this Male, whose whole body is golden there is some distinction in the eyes. They are red like unto lotuses which are bright as the parts around the postical calosities of the monkey." It is quite out of accord with the highly metaphysical plane of the disquisition and, to say the least indecent. Ramanuja would have considered it blasphemous to compare the colour of the eyes of the Purusha who is presumed to reside in the Sun to the colour of a monkey's postical calosities.

The accepted interpretation of the same by the Vaishnava commentators and by Ramanuja is "His eyes are like the lotus flower newly opened to the sun's rays." The two verses 6 and 7 would read in English "Now that golden Purusha, who is seen within the sun with golden beard, with golden hair and golden in every part of the body up to the tip of His nails (vers 6) His eyes are like the lotus flower newly opened to the Sun's rays . . ."

The term Kapyāsa of which the last sentence above is the translation is explained in three ways

(1) Kapi is the sun who drinks water—Kapyāsa is what is opened by him,

was however any unpleasant act done on either side. As a tit for tat there is the story that Sri Ramanuja's disciple Kūrattālvān appeared under orders before the Chola King Kulōttunga I, for affixing his signature to the statement *Sivāt paratarm nāsti* The silly meaning which Kūrattālvān gave to the word *Siva* saying that there was a *Dronam* (measure) bigger than that, enraged the King who had his eyes put out. Sri Ramanuja and his disciples left Chōladēsa thereafter and resided in the Hoysala country (Mysore) until the death of Kulōttunga I. But for these two equally impudent wordy insults there does not appear to have been any serious conflict such as we read in history of the rivalry between the Roman Catholic Church, and the Protestant Church nor anything like the mortal fear of the Church which made Copernicus delay

(ii) *Kapi* is the stalk for the same reason and the flower stands thereon

(iii) The whole word means standing in water. All these derivations are accepted ones and the resulting meaning is, as the lotus flower standing in deep water on its stalk and newly opened to the sun's rays is very pretty

The word *pundarikā* according to *amarskosa* is white lotus, but *śabara* the commentator of *Jaimini's* sutras, applies it to the red lotus. In substance the idea seems to be that His eyes were like unto the lotus flower just blossoming (on its stalk rising from deep water) to the red rays of the rising sun and displaying a blend of the red colour around the edges of the petals shading into white in the middle

Rajaram Tinkaran Tata in his English Translation of the twelve principal Upanishads renders it thus (7) whose eyes are like unto lotus es red as the orb of the rising God of day. This is much the same as the *Valishuvite* rendering

publication of his book till he was actually on his death bed, nor the Inquisition which Galileo had to face for refusing to disclaim faith in his astronomical theories. The assemblies of our pundits at all times reverberated with high sounding words and phrases in earnest disputation, called Vākyaārtham, about the interpretation of a particular "Sūtram" in the Brahama Sūtras. But this did not weaken mutual respect. Sayanacharya, the great commentator of the Vedas, was a contemporary of Vēdantadēsika, the effective expounder of Ramanuja's Sri Bhashya. He was invited by Sayana to the court of the Vijayanagar King (Bukka) so that Desika may shed his poverty. The latter declined the offer in his famous five verses Vairagya Panchakam and preferred independence and uncha vritti (begging in the manner laid down in the sastras). Appayya Dīkshitaī, a great expounder of Advaita Philosophy, is said to have written a beautiful commentary on one of Desika's works. Mutual admiration never ceased, but rivalry to establish one's own point of view there was, and accompanied by indignation also. This anecdote carries us to about 1367 A.D. when Vēdanta Desika seems to have died. But so far as the Saiva and Vaishnava temples in Tiruchchukanūr were concerned we notice one instance of discord in each case. An endowment for lighting 24 lamps daily in Tiruvengadam Temple (incised on stone) for which the Sabhaiyar of Tirumundiyaṁ (near Tiruchchanur) were trustees was not performed and the matter had

to be enquired into by the Chōla Rajas (Rājendra Sōla) Adhikāri and the defaulters were properly dealt with. This action was about the year 1013 A.D.¹ The Tirumundiyaṁ Sabhaiyar were probably the Saivite counterpart of the Vaishnavite Tiruchchukanur Sabhaiyars.

In 1225 A.D. (I 36) the Sthānattar of Sri Parasarēswara's temple alleged that the Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukannur with whom 26 Kaḷanju of gold was deposited in 1008 A.D. as an endowment for certain services in that temple failed to carry out the trust. They were made to shell out the money and the Sthānattar of the Siva Temple were made the trustees. In both instances the original inscriptions appear to have been wilfully destroyed.

We do not find any other instance of friction. That about or some time before the year 1000 A.D. there was some friction is evidenced by the two incidents mentioned in our inscriptions. The reader will now see the wisdom of the Vaisnava leaders of the time in transferring their activities to Tiruvēṅgadam Hill practically abandoning the Tiruchchukanur Tiruvilankōyil. In a small village the two temples of rival sects could not have worked in healthy co-operation. It is very necessary to go into the history of the temple of Sri Parasareswara to feel convinced of their wisdom.

It has been already pointed out that the Tiruvilankōyil Vishnu temple should have been

constructed some time before 826 A.D.¹ in Tiruchchukanur. The earliest inscription which has reference to the Siva temple is on the walls of that temple itself, in the 23rd year of Sri Rājakēsari Rāja Rāja Dēvar (1008 A.D.).² There is thus a gulf of nearly 182 years between the two. The natural inference would be that the Siva temple should have been constructed not long before 1008 A.D. The inscription is incomplete here. But there is the other inscription made in the 9th year of the reign of Rāja Rāja Dēva III (1225 A.D.) I 36 wherein the inscription of 1008 A.D. is reproduced in full. The latter is a complaint made before Vīra Narasiṅga Yādavarāyar against the Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanur (already referred to) for failure to carry out the provisions of the endowment, viz. the supply of the necessary articles for Tirumanjanam (Abhishekam) on the Uttarayana Sankramanam day and rice, tamarind, curds, honey, sesamam, pepper, turmeric, sidari, chandanam, tender coconuts, sugar, green-gram and betel nuts and leaves. Also 108 earthen pots and kalasams. If in 1008 A.D. this temple had been of any importance the endowment would have been not only for the Uttarayana Sankramanam, but also for the Dakṣiṇayana and the two Viṣṇus as well, similar to Samavai's endowment of 966 A.D. while installing the Manavalapperumal in Tiruvengadam.

The history of South India indicates that the Chōḷa Aditya I. conquered the Pallavas about 900

1. I. 1

2. I. 18

A D The latter while not making any direct endowment for the Vishnu or Siva temple in Tiruchchukanur appear to have encouraged their feudatories and others to help to establish the Vishnu temple With reference to the Siva Temple of Sri Parasaresvara (Tippaladisvaramudaiyan) there does not appear to have been any such encouragement even between 1008 and 1073 A.D : i.e after the Cholas came to power Although there is no reference in our inscriptions to Sri Kālahastisvara it is fair to presume that it is an ancient one and was in a flourishing condition at least in the first quarter of the 11th century For from Vaishnava tradition itself it is known that Sri Ramanuja's cousin Govinda Bhattar became a convert to Saivism and lived in Kālahasti for several years before he was re-converted to Vaishnavism by his maternal uncle Tirumalai Nambi But that the temple of Tippaladisvaramudaiyan received no endowment for nearly seventy years after 1008 A.D when the Salvite Chola Kings were ruling goes to show that it was not considered at the time a temple of importance In the inscription of '1073' Sri Virarājōndra Soḷa Dēvar (Kulōttunga I) among his other bīrudus adds Venkatanātha purandara showing that he was equally a devotee of Tiruvōn kaṭanatha as of Siva From this inscription it is seen that Munjaippundi (modern Muliapudi) was already a devadānam village of Tippaladisvaramudaiyan and that one Narana Deva waived

collection of taxes, such as Vattakkāsu,² Tiruguk-kāsu etc., in favour of the temple. Next in 1094 A D, (24th year of the reign of Kulottunga I) one Tiruchchirrambala nambi presented to the care of certain Saivite Brahmins, who were hereditary archakas or Gurukkals of Tippaladisvaramudaiyan temple, 128 cows to supply ghee for 4 nandāvilakku (at the rate of 32 cows for one lamp). The next one¹ is more interesting because it brings to light the procedure for converting a land paying taxes to the state into a dēvadānam one. Five māda¹ representing arrears due (or fee perhaps) had first to be paid before the Maganikkangātti (மகணிககங்காட்டி) would give effect to the King's oral orders to convert Munjaippundi (re-named as Sivapādakēsarinnallūr in honour of the king) into a devadanam village free of all taxes. The inscription also brings to light that in addition to the Sabhaiyar there was also a Ganattar (or assembly) of Siva Brahmins in Tiruchchukanur. In 1134 A D (16th year of the reign of Vikrama Sola)² we notice for the first time that there was a Vaikasi festival instituted and that an arrangement was made for the supply of oil for lights during processions in Vaikasi Tirunal. Thus a Vaikasi festival had come into existence between 1105 and 1134. But it was not until 1223 A D³ (7th year of the reign of Raja Raja III) that permanent arrangements were made for the Tiruwardha-jāmampadi and Tiruveluchchippadi (food offerings in the night and in the early morning daily). Some

1 I 23 2 I 24, 1105 A D 3 I 33 1134 A.D 4 I 35

lands under cultivation were purchased and handed over to the members of three families who were doing puja in the temple by one Pāndiyadaraiyar for the spiritual benefit of his son who lost his life in the Uratti battle. Details of daily rations to be supplied by the Bhattars are also given. By this time we find hereditary temple accountants also appointed. The trustees for this endowment are not the Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanur but the Siva Brahmins (Bhattars) above referred to. There is thus a stage of clear cleavage between the Vaishnavite Sabhaiyars and the managers of the Siva Temple. Before we reach the year 1225 A.D. this temple had its own Sthanattar and an assembly called Sri Mahēśwaras. The gist of the inscription L. 36 is a complaint before Vira Narasinga Yadavaraaya against the Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanur by the Saivites above mentioned that in 1008 A.D. an endowment was made (in an inscription) for the performance of certain services. The Sabhaiyar contended that they were not aware of any such inscription. After due enquiry the King ordered that the Sabhaiyar should place into the hands of the Sthanattar of the Siva Temple 26 kaḷanju of gold and that the Sthanattar should thenceforth become the trustees of the endowment.

From the above account it will be seen that the Vaishnavites from the date of founding of a Saivite temple, apprehended the possibility of friction and therefore removed the centre of their religious activities to Tiruvengadam Hill.

SRI PARASARESWARA IN TIRUCHCHUKANUR

One more endowment was made by Pāṇḍiyadaraiyar who was managing the Siva Temple, for the celebration yearly of a Maṣi festival, by assignment of land therefor I 38, 1240 A D

After 1240 A D there is no inscription relating to this temple obviously because the Chola power in this part of the country came to an end before 1248 A.D. and there was a showdown In 1547 A.D. the Tirumalai Temple was paying 3 panams per month as wages for a man to supply flowers daily

There is, and there naturally can be, no inscription which would state why the Tiruvilankoyil had for all practical purposes to be abandoned and the Vaishnava activities centred in Tirumalai itself. The Chola rule was in full swing and all the Chola Kings were staunch Saivites There was therefore no wisdom in sticking to Tiruchchukanur. We have only to read between the lines to explain the most important step which the Vaishnavites of the day took At that time Sri Alavandar was steering the ship in the Tamil country for the spread of Vaishnavism and he must have advised the Sri Vaishnavas to transfer their activities to Tirumalai

But before taking leave of the temple of Tirupalādisvaramudaiyan, there are a few interesting things to learn about the system of administration adopted by the Chola Kings There was an Adhikari in charge of each division who carried with him a sort of circuit court; all disputes referred to him seem to have been enquired into on the spot,

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after summoning and hearing the parties as well as the witnesses. Judgment seems to have been delivered on the spot. Even if the king issued an order to convert a tax paying land into a *dēvadāna sarvamānya*, the officer in charge took care to realise all arrears of tax before giving effect to the King's order.

The Siva temple had a manager to do the *mādapatyam*. There were also the *Sthanattar*, the *Ganattar* and the *Tiru ulnālikai Bhattar*, who actually did the service. The charges for endowment for burning one lamp was a cash payment of twentyfour *kaḷanju* of gold or the award of 32 cows.

During the Chola period, and in the Siva Temple in particular, rice was measured with what was known as *Arumolidevan* measure in *kalams tūni*, (கலம்) *kuruni naḷi* and *padakku*. Weighment was in *palams*, betel leaves were in bundles and betel nuts were counted. The gold coins were the *Kaḷanju* and *manjadi* and *madai*. Gold was weighed in two styles, one known as *Kudinaikkai* and the other *Dharmakkattai*.

Arumolidevan measure takes after the surname of Raja Raja I, which describes him as one who never swerved from what he once uttered. Along side of the newly introduced standards of weights and measures there were the old ones of the owners of the soil *tūmbu vaṭṭi soligai* etc., These will be dealt with in a separate chapter on weights measures for grains measurement of land etc.

There are taxes mentioned—Kaḍamaḷyāyam, por-kaḍamai, paḍikāval, veṭṭisarikaḷ, koḷvarī and silvarī.

It is also worth pointing out how the inscriptions relating to the Siva temple ended. In 1073 A.D we find the subscription “Sri Mahēsvara Rakshai.” In cases where the pujaris of the temple were the trustees of the endowment, the ending is “Kōil Tiruvuṇṇāligai Siva brāhmanarōm.”

But from 1134 A.D. onwards it is பன்மஹேஸ்வர ரக்ஷை (Panmahēsvara Rakshai), which is the counter part of “Sri Vaishnava Rakshai.” The abandonment of “Sri Mahesvara” and the adoption of “Pan Mahesvara” (all mahesvaras) suggests that there were different sub-sects even in Saivism at that time.



CHAPTER VII

Tiruvengadamadaiyan and the Tiruvengadam Temple.

When we read or hear that a temple was built, the idea conveyed to us is that a building of cut-stone was constructed that an idol of stone was made and that it was duly installed and consecrated in that building. But when we speak of the Tiruvengadam Temple we believe that the Temple only was built by some one, that the Idol was already there and that it was neither made by man nor consecrated by him. The tradition about this is that at the time when Dvāparayuga ended and Kaliyuga set in Śrīman Narayana in Vaikuntham of His own will deemed it desirable to manifest Himself as an Idol standing near the shore of a pond (since known as Svamīpushkarinī) on the Tiruvengadam Hill. The reason for this as vouchsafed by our ancients is that during the preceding yugas men were endowed with great powers of physical endurance for performing yoga and tapas as means to spiritual ends. These ends were Ātmavalōkanam or self realisation and Brahmavalōkanam or God realisation. Ātmavalōkanam is beset with the danger of the aspirant acquiring such great powers of control over nature as may be considered an end itself and the existence of a higher power may be ignored or disregarded.

TIRUVENGADAM TEMPLE

Hiranya and Mahābali are examples of those who erred in this manner. Brahmaṣālōkanam alone reveals that the source of all power is God. To enable men in the Kali age to achieve God Realisation a less tedious process, that is by intense love and devotion or Bhakti, has been recommended by God Himself who revealed Himself as an Idol. This is known as His Aichāvatāra. All the faculties of man and his sense organs are directed to worshipping the Idol with intense love and devotion. Sri Andal is held up by Śrīvaiṣṇavas as one who by such means attained God Realisation and absorption into the Godhead. It is purely a matter of faith that the Idol on the Tiruvengadam Hill is regarded as manifestation of Śrīman Narayana and the Hill is considered as Kalyuga Vāikuntham.

THE FIRST DISCOVERY.

But when the Idol was first discovered the scene was not the same that we witness now. The idol is stated to have lain buried inside an ant hill, or mound of earth. The story goes that in that age there lived on the Hill a small colony of cowherds, that they noticed that their milch cows were returning home every day with empty udders, that when they followed the cows they found them going up to a mound and emptying their udders of milk at a particular spot and that when the phenomenon was reported to the king whose name was Tondaiman he had the mound removed and, finding to his amazement an Idol under it, built a temple

to house the Idol Some historians are of the opinion that this Tondaiman Chakravarti lived in the first century B.C. or A.D. If their opinion is correct a temple would have been built at that period Whether that temple was of cutstone, brick in mortar, brick in mud or of wood we are not told

Such a story is not wholly unbelievable There is for instance a universal belief among Jews and Christians that God appeared to Moses on Mount Sinai and revealed to him the ten Commandments that these were transcribed on the spot on two tablets of stone and deposited in a wooden box 4 feet \times 2½ feet plated with gold This box is known as the Ark which became the object of worship of the Jews And it is stated that under the command of God king Solomon built about the year 1000 B.C. a grand temple to serve as a permanent place of rest for it Hindus unquestioningly believe that in Tiruvengadam a similar miracle took place and that Tondaiman built a temple But the temple we see today is not the one built by Tondaiman The present temple is built of cutstone with carvings in what is believed to be the Pallava style of architecture The doors alone are of wood Epigraphists assert that cutstone architecture in South India developed only after the sixth century A.D. and that rock-cut cave temples found here and there were their precursors There are numerous inscriptions which support this theory Tondaiman's temple could therefore not have been of a durable type

TIRUVENGADAM TEMPLE

Account of the Temple found in Silappadhikaram.

There is a description of the Vengadam Deity in the ancient Tamil classical work Silappadhikāram. The author of this work was not a worshipper of Vishnu. He is supposed to have been a Jain. He puts into the mouth of a Vaishnavite pilgrim from a village named Māngādu on the western ghat Hills a description of Tuvengadamudayan and also another description of Sri Ranganatha of Sri Rangam. The description shows that the idol on the Hill represented Vishnu (called by him Sengan Nediyaṇ (செங்கண நெடியோன்)). The extract is given in full at the end of this chapter with a commentary in English on the import of the description. It shows that the sun and the moon shone on the idol. If, as is evident from the description that the sun and the moon illumined the Deity it must be either that there was no covering over the Idol or that the covering was of a pavilion type. The pavilion or mantapam would have been of stone or wood. There is nothing improbable in this assumption, for we find in the T. T. D. Inscriptions that idols were installed and consecrated in similar mantapams in Tirupati during the 16th century. We also come across such temples of Anjaneya and Ganesa in out of the way places. People go there to fulfil their vows in the full faith that the Murties are varaprasādis (granters of all boons). There is also the consideration that the Ālvārs who flourished in the eighth and the ninth centuries A.D. and who

sang the glories of Tiruvengadam referred only to the sanctity of the Hill. There is no mention in any of their songs of a temple on it. If there was a temple the author of the Silappadhikaram at any rate would have mentioned it. We find that in his description of Sriranganatha of Srirangam he mentions that He lay recumbent on His Bed in His chamber. The author of the Silappadhikaram and the Ālvārs may be said to be contemporaries more or less. It may therefore be reasonably assumed that Tondaiman's temple would have gone into disrepair long before 750 A.D. and that the present building was raised much later—that is at a date when the Pallava style of architecture was well established in the plains. Nor was the temple as it now stands constructed at one and the same time. The sanctum called the garbhagriham along with the ante-chamber called *Mukha mantapam* or *sayana mantapam* seems to have been built as one block about the end of the 9th century or early in the 10th century. This was soon followed by the covered pathway for circumambulation and its enclosing walls called the *Prathamavarānam* or the *mukhōṭi pradakṣhiṇam*. Then came in 966 A.D. the structure known as the *Tiruvilankōyil*. The probable dates for these will be discussed in this chapter on due and full consideration of the available inscriptions.

Then there is a long pause covered by the periods of the reign of the chola kings from Rajendra Chola I to Raja Raja II. It was when the

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weakness of the Chola power gave room for the Yadavarayas and other feudatories to assert a kind of semi independence that the next stage in the development of the temple commenced. This may be taken to be sometime between 1160 A D and 1190 A D., that is after the life time of Sri Ramanuja Sri Ramanuja is said to have built the temple of Sri Govindaraja in Tirupati and to have reconsecrated the Idol in 1130 A.D. But it is not the same thing as saying that he built the gopuram and prakara walls in Tirupati Nor was the gopuram in Tirumalai constructed during his life time The evolution of the temple structures in Tirumalai extends even to the 15th and 16th centuries. We find that Sāluva Narasimha rayar endowed the village of Durgasamudram in 1482 A D for the express purpose of constructing gopurams in Tirumalai and Tirupati and for constructing the Narasimharaya mantapam Tallapakkam Tirumalai Ayyangar added to the gopuram and constructed the pushkarini steps etc., in the 16th century. There is also the Tirumalairaya mantapam constructed in the latter part of that century These are mentioned here to show that there was no blue-print on hand and that the additions were the choice of the donors and were even made without sufficient foresight.

Garbhagriham and Sayanamantapam.

These two form a monolithic structure and were constructed at the same time , There is however no inscription in Tirumalai or in Tirupati giving the

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year of construction. But there are inscriptions all in the Tamil language and Tamil script—some of which are incomplete and some fragmentary, which enable us to fix an approximate date for this structure. One of these inscriptions mentions that a local Bāna ruler Vijayāditya made an endowment for three different services one of these being the burning of one perpetual light or Nandāvilakku daily for Tiruvengadathupperumanadigal (the God on the Tiruvengadam Hill). This endowment could be ascribed to 830–850 A D and the inscription is on a separate slab now preserved on a platform in the Sri Padmavati Ammavaru Temple in Tiruchchukannur. For only one perpetual light to burn day and night sheltered from the winds on the Hill the Temple in Tirumalai would have been a small one. The garbhagriham and the Sayanamantapam would answer to this description, the sayanamantapam being the place for the worshipper to stand. The Banarāya referred to above is the person whose birth was commemorated on a slab found in Tirumalai in front of the temple. His birth date would have been about the end of the eighth century A D. After the conquest of the country by the Cholas there are two inscriptions probably of the years 927 and 936 A D during the reign of Parantaka-I or Koppaṇ Kesari Varman. One of these tells us that a native of Oranganore in Malamadu (Kodungolūran) made an endowment of 40 kalanju of gold with the saṁhalyar of Tiruchchukannur in the 29th year of

Ko-parakesari (935-936). The other was probably in the 20th year of his reign and for a like purpose. The inscription is fragmentary. Both the inscriptions are on the west base of the present vāhana mantapam in Tiruchchukanur, although the service was to be performed in Tirumalai, and the sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanur were the trustees for the endowments. The reasonable inference is that although there was a temple in Tirumalai the inscription was made in the place where the sabhaiyars were residing. It might also be that there was difficulty in taking a skilled workman to the Hill. Or it might be due to the fact that the walls of the Tirumalai Temple were not such that an inscription could be cut thereon.

There is also another inscription which was made on the north wall of the mukkoṭi pradakṣhiṇam of the temple in Tirumalai on the 7th day of the reign of Rajendra Chola I *re*, 1013 A.D.¹ From this inscription we learn that the Sabhaiyar of Tirumundiyaṁ were the trustees of some endowments, which were for the service of lighting daily 24 oil lamps and one camphor light for Tiruvengada Devar in Tirumalai. They failed to perform the service in full. The king's Adhikari during his audit of the accounts detected this and made due enquiries of the Devakarmis (religious service men) of the Tirumalai Temple, recovered from the Subhaiyar 23 poṇ which was all that could be recovered. The amount was credited to the Treasury, or Sri Bhandaram, of the

1. The inscription was already referred to

Temple and the secular managers and the religious officers were ordered to look to the proper performance of the lighting. The lighting of twenty four oil lamps could only mean that these were located outside the garbhagriham and would naturally have been arranged in the corridor of the pradakshinam. In the garbhagriham the akhandam would have been fed with ghee and not oil. The order of the Adhikari was to the effect that oil should be transported daily to Tirumalai along with the other provisions for the temple. An endowment trust would run into non performance only after a fairly long period when in all probability the donors or their relations were no more. We may therefore reasonably assume that these endowments would have been made 50 or 60 years before 1013 A D. The date of those endowments might have been of 950 A D. And on that date the Temple consisted of the garbhagriham and sayanamantapam and also the mukkti pradakshanam as a covered and enclosed space.

The Tiruvilankoyil and the consecration of the silver Idol called by the donor Manavalapperumal (Bhoga Srinivasa)

The Tiruvilankōyil is the structure now known as Stapanam mantapam which is a corruption for Snapanam mantapam. It was in this mantapam that the donor Sāmavai got consecrated the silver replica of the Mula Boram whom she presented and

for whom she made endowments The inscriptions relating to this endowment are marked numbers 8 and 9 in Volume-I of the T T. D Inscriptions. These two inscriptions are of the highest value to us, for they mark the commencement of the popularity of the Tirumalai Temple They are both on the North wall of the first prākāram and are dated the 14th year of Koppātramahēndrapanmar.¹ This Koppātramahēndrapanmar is identified as Ko Parthivēndra varman who was the son of the Emperor Sundarachola or Parantaka II The son is said to have been made the Viceroy of this part of the country, known as Tondaimandalam Sundara Chola's reign covered the period of 953-970 A.D. Ko-Parthivendra on the death of his father became the Emperor in 970 A.D under the surname Āḍitya II, Karikāla These details enable us to fix the year of the inscriptions

The year of the inscriptions Nos. 8 and 9 Volume-I, the date of the First Purattasi Tirunal and the date of consecration of Manavalapperumal.

The earliest year for the appointment of Ko-Parthivendra as Viceroy of Tondaimandalam would have been 953 A.D. soon after Sundara Chōla became the Emperor The fourteenth year therefrom which

1 The Tamil expression used does not indicate the idea "in the reign of" (கொப பாதி மஹேஜு பனமறகு யாண்டு யச-வது).

is the date of the inscriptions will therefore be 966 A.D. Some may argue that the fourteenth year should count from the date of Ko Partivendras accession to the throne as Emperor. But as the period of his reign did not extend to 14 years after his accession this view would be unacceptable. Further if the 14th year referred to the year after he became Emperor, the name used should have been Aditya Karikala with all the *prāsasti* which it is usual to employ while referring to the Emperor. The year 966 A.D. is therefore the date of our inscriptions. This is borne out by the internal evidence contained in inscription No 8. It is given therein that for commencing the *Brahmostvam* the *Tirumulaiaṭṭal* (or seed sowing usually referred to as *Ankurarpanam*) should take place in *Chittirai* (*chitta nakshatram*) and that there should be processions and festivals on the succeeding nine days ending with the *Tirthavari* festival. The tenth day from *Chittirai* would not always be *Tiruvonam* (*Sravanam*) on which day the *Tirthavari* should take place since *Sravanam* is the ninth *nakshatram* from *chitta*. It has been an unalterable custom that the *Tirthavari*, which is always on the tenth day counted from *ankurarpanam* should be when *Sravana nakshatram* is current. So in very many years the *ankurarpanam* would be in *Hasthanakshatra* to make sure that the *Tirthavari* is in *Sravana*. It happens that in 966 A.D. *Chitta nakshatram* was current for *ankurarpanam*. In 967 and in 968 it was not so. In fact the only nearest year after 966 to satisfy the conditions was

983 A.D in which year Ko Parthivendra was not alive even in his capacity as Emperor In 966 A.D on Tuesday 27th of the tamil month Āvanī (August, 21) Chitta nakshatram commenced at 6 ghatikas after sunrise, so that it was current during the night when Ankurarpanam would have taken place. On Thursday the 5th of Purattasī, which is ten days counted from Tuesday 27th August, Sravana Nakshatra was current till 8 ghatikas 24 vighatikas after sunrise, within which time Tirthavari would have taken place This period from Tuesday of one week to Thursday of the succeeding week gives ten days. After the ankurarpan day there would therefore have been festivals for nine days The year 966 A.D was Akshaya according to the southern cycle The Tirthavari of the first Purattasi Tirunal instituted by Samavai was thus in Akshaya year (966 A.D.) Thursday the 5th of Purattasi (30th August).

The date of consecration of Manavālapperumāl will next be fixed There is nothing in either of the inscriptions to help us in this But there are other considerations which do definitely help us The installation and consecration of the Idol and the Purattasī festival for it are mentioned in the same inscription The reasonable inference is that the festival would have taken place in the same year as the consecration of the Idol, also that the consecration would have been on the earliest possible day preceding the festival consistent with the astrological dictums guiding the selection of an auspicious day It should be during a uttarāyanam month,

ie one of the Tamil months covered by the northerly course of the sun. This would point to the month Ani as the suitable one. Without going into the details of astrological considerations it may be stated that Friday Bahula Tṛitiya, the 16th of Ani of Akshaya year, Sravana nakshatram was the day of consecration of Manavalapperumal (or Bhoga Srinivasa). The nakshatram Sravanam is known as the Avatāra nakshatra of Sri Venkatesa as also of Sri Varahaswami. The inscription tells us that karmārohana was performed for Tiruvengadattu perumanadigal first and Abhishekam was performed next for the Manavalapperumal (who was adorned with all the jewellery (or Tiruvabharanam) mentioned therein, before the ceremony of consecration took place. On that Friday sravana nakshatram commenced at 8 ghatikas after sunrise. The first 10 ghatikas of sravanam being in auspicious the consecration would have taken place after 18 ghatikas from sunrise had expired. The karmārohan of the Dhruva Beram or Periya Perumal would have taken that much time since an ordinary abhishekam would have been performed for the Dhruva Murti also. On the previous night (Thursday night) there would have been flower-decoration now known as Poolangi seva. Friday June 8 966 A.D. would have been the day of consecration of Manavalapperumal. This day in the month of Ani was considered the most auspicious and the Nayanāṇṇūliyanam (opening the eyes of the new silver idol) would have been

the sanctum How and when the Bangaru vakili and the wall containing it were constructed will be discussed later After the consecration ritual was completed the silver Murti would have found His place in the garbhagriham just in front of Tiruven gadamudaiyan at the spot where we find Him now He is the Kautuka Beram for the Dhruva Murti and therefore made to be an exact representation of the original

It is worth restating that the Dhruva Murti played no part in the consecration ritual except when the linking took place The usual daily puja, called Karmarchana in the inscription was performed to Him It was after completing this Karmarchana, that the installation of the silver Image in the mantapam the Abhishekam and consecration took place It may be mentioned here that the Marichi Samhita calls the daily puja as Karmarchana (worship as prescribed)

The Necessity for the Installation of Manavalapperumal

The necessity for an Idol of a smaller size than the Dhruva Beram would be apparent to all those who have faith in the Archa form of worship as ordained in the Agamas Six āsanas¹ are prescribed therein and the worshipper performs the worship pertaining to each of these In the case of the Dhruva Murti parvanka āsana (putting into bed) is

1. Āsanas are the postures in which the murti is supposed to be for different worship such as bathing dressing eating and sleeping

an impossibility. Abhishekam (bathing) is impracticable every day owing to the difficulty of getting a large quantity of water and the greater difficulty of removing the water from the floor of the garbhagriham. In regard to food offering also there is a difficulty. It is to obviate these difficulties that a smaller Idol was found necessary. All the upachārams, or services rendered to this Idol are in effect rendered to the Dhruva Murti. When large quantities of food (called Tiruppāvadam) are deposited in the front mantapam the silver Beram is brought near to the Bangaru Vakili so as to remain within the consecrated limits and the archaka offers the food to this Deity. All the doors being kept open the food will be in the view of the Main Deity as well.

Ornaments or Tiruvabharanam of Manavalapperumal.

At the time of consecration the Silver Murti was decorated with certain ornaments known collectively as Tiruvabharanam. In Idol worship the idea of associating with the Murti certain weapons and ornaments is an ancient one and the jewellery mentioned in the inscription is according to those ideas. These ornaments are here mentioned in extenso to give an idea of the culture and civilisation of those days. These are:—

- (1) Tirumudi (crown or Kureetam) which is set with 23 diamonds, 16 big pearls, two large centre rubies or (Tadavikkattina mānikkam) (தடவிக்றத்தி மாநிக்கம்)

HISTORY OF TIRUPATĪ

- (2) Ear ornaments consisting of gold makaram and coral koppu for each ear (*கொல்லி மகரம், பவழத்தின் கொப்பு*)
- (3) Necklace or garland of four strands of gold set with 14 diamonds 3 rubies, 11 large pearls and several small red pearls.
- (4) One gold body belt or Udara Bandhanam
- (5) One gold waist girdle (*Tiruvaraippaṭṭigai*) set with four rubies
- (6) Gold bracelet round each of the upper arms set with two cut rubies (called Bahū Valayam)
- (7) Gold bracelets four, each set with two rubies.
- (8) Necklets or valaiyal of gold, four
- (9) Anklets or Kāral of gold, two
- (10) Silver Prabha set with one big ruby (*Nayaka manikkam*)

The total weight of gold in all the ornaments was 47 kaḷanju. These ornaments are only copies of those sculptured on the body of the Dhruva Murti.

Whether Manavalapperumal has now all these ornaments on His Divine Person or Tirumōṇi is a moot-point. Having been consecrated along with the Murti it is presumed that He has not been divested of them.

Endowments Corpus and the Services.

The services for which the endowments shown in the two inscriptions were made have already been mentioned. What the endowments were will

now be described in some detail. These two being the first endowments that we know of deserve special mention. They are in the shape of lands purchased from a number of parties aggregating to 7176-3/4 kulis. Inscription No. 8 Vol. I accounts for 3000 kulis and No 9 for 4176-3/4 kulis. A kuli is one square rod, the rod being a pole measuring 16 spans length. If we assume that a span is equivalent to 9 inches, the endowments would be about 24 acres in extent.

From the details given of the lands we learn that there was a highway going northward and passing through Tiruchchukanur; that lands belong-

DETAILS OF THE ENDOWMENT PROPERTY

- (a) Land purchased from the Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanur
 - (b) Land situated in Tirukkudavūr nādu of Tiruvengadakkottam purchased from the Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanūr and from Lakshmana Nambī by payment in gold and also made tax free by payment of compensation to the Tiruvilankoyil Perumān
 - (c) Nandiyerippatti and Maduppatti lands
 - (d) Land held in lease by Lakshmana Nambī
 - (e) Madhnsūdanam-āviyarai
 - (f) Purushōttamanpatti
- No (9).
- (g) 267 kuli in Āyapratti land lying to the west of the high road running to the north
 - (h) 367 kuli called kulippatti
 - (i) 340 kuli opposite to the Perumbān tank
 - (j) 1221 kuli called Navisappatti
 - (k) 144 kuli called Kusappatti
 - (l) 121 kuli called purushōttamanpatti
 - (m) 1000 kuli in panchavan mādēvi ēri
 - (n) 250 kuli purchased from Kālipperuman and Tambi Bhattan known as Nādārseru
 - (o) 600 kuli purchased from Sālaipperumāl-Tirumalai known as kīlpattu in Kottur village

ing to the Tiruchchukanur Tiruvilankoyil temple were purchased indicating thereby that that temple had begun to be liquidated that there was a tank called Perumhāna tank leading to the inference that the country was under the Bana rule and that there was also a tank called Panchavan Mādevi ēri in the name of one of the Chola queens leading to the inference that when the inscriptions were made the Chola rule had become effective The Pallavas and the Cholas seem to have paid great attention to the improvement of irrigation sources in the country The name Sālaiperumāl Tirumalai shows that the Tirumantra Salai in Tiruchchukanur was becoming a popular proselytising institution.

We also learn from a comparison of the closing words in inscriptions Nos 4 12 and 8 Volume I that the worshippers of Vishnu down to the year 936 A.D styled themselves as Emperumanadivar Thereafter they came to be called Sri Vaishnavas Sri Vaishnava Rakshai became the subscription in all later inscriptions The significance and implications of this change would be apparent to all¹

There is however a secret—which is known only to a very few worshippers but not mentioned

1 Before the days of Sri Alavandar Vaishnavas did not form an organised community but only individuals who had faith in Imperuman (Vishnu) as the Supreme Deity Sri Devi was not considered as being coequal to Vishnu It was Sri Alavandar who first made it an essential article of faith that Sri and Vishnu should be worshipped together and as forming one entity Vishnu worshippers who did not subscribe to this doctrine such as Dvaitins are only Vaishnavas and not Sri vaishnavas.

TIRUVENGADAM TEMPLE

in the inscription There is a Yantram on the Pitham of Bhoga Srinivasa and a corresponding one under the Bēram It has a definite significance according to the Vaikhanasa as well as the Pancha-ratra agama more so in the latter This will be considered in another Chapter

Tirukkodi Tirunal (festival).

We also learn from these two inscriptions that a tirukkodi-tirunāl need not necessarily be a ten days festival The festival ending with the Tiru-dvādasi day was only a seven days' festival. There were processions by day as well as by night during these days The Vaikhanasa agama provides for festivals of five, seven and nine days It is very unlikely that the Silver Idol inseparably connected with the Dhruva Beram would have been the processional Deity We find a processional Beram in the garbhagriham known as Venkatatturaivar or Ugra Srinivasa which is reported to be an ancient Idol This Idol would have been the processional Murti in those days This will be considered at length in the next chapter

Alterations and additions made to the temple structure, the installation of a few more shrines, the other Murtis installed in the garbhagriham and the Varahasvami Temple in Trumalai as an independent temple will be mentioned in the next chapter Mantapams and Nandavanams which multiplied themselves in large numbers will be dealt with as an Appendix The real history of the Tiruven-

gadam Temple commences with the installation of Manavalapperumal in 966 A.D. Every inscription on the walls of the mukkotl pradakshinam is of a later date. Soon after the consecration of the Silver Idol, gifts and endowments were made and inscribed on the temple walls. Although the Chōla kings made no gifts or endowments their queens seem to have made some as is observed from some of the fragmentary and incomplete inscriptions. In the 16th year of the reign of Vira Rajendra Pannar (Raja Raja-I) or 1000 A.D. Paran aka Devī amman, the widowed queen of Sundara Chola was the first to present a gold pattam weighing 5' kaḷanju and set with six rubies 4 diamonds and 28 pearls. About the same time Ulagamadev the queen of Raja Raja-I, appears to have made an endowment of 29 kaḷanju of gold for burning one perpetual light or Nanda Vilakku.¹ As the inscription is fragmentary the exact date cannot be fixed but must be between the years 985 and 1013 A.D. It was already noticed that it was on the 7th day of the reign of Rajendra Chola-I (son of Raja Raja-I) 1013 A.D. that the kings Adhikari enquired into the non performance of lamp lighting by the Sabhayaar of Tirumundlyan and arranged for the future observance of the trust. This inscription² is of special interest as it disproves the futile contention of some people who argue that Tiruvengadamudaiyan was the name of the deity in Tiruchchukanur which place they presume was called Tiruvōngadam and that there was till about

¹ Vol. I 14² Vol. I 16.³ Vol. I 11

TIRUVENGADAM TEMPLE

1245 A.D. no such deity in Tirumalai. This inscription is clear on the point that Tiruvēṅgada Devar was on the Tirumalai Hill, that endowments for lamp lighting in that temple were made long anterior to 1013 A.D. and that oil for the purpose was ordered to be transported daily to Tirumalai. One Arulakki alias, Raja Raja Muvēndavelan, probably a Chola officer, made two endowments in the reign of Raja Raja-I, one of 40 kaḷanju of gold for lighting one perpetual lamp and the other a grant of some land or village in Āvūrkkurram on the south bank of (possibly the Kaveri) in Sōlanāḍu. These are inscribed on separate slabs in Tiruchchukanur and may have been intended for the Deity in that place. But the endowments are here mentioned to show that even during the Chola period their officers made endowments for Viṣṇu Temples. Apart from the one inscription of 1013 A.D. which shows the method adopted by the Cholas for dispensing justice there is no inscription to show that either Rajendra or any of his men made endowments to this temple. Nor do we find any endowments during the reign of any of his successors till we reach the reign of Vira Rajendra Chola-II or Kulothunga-I. Kulothunga made no endowment. But his queen (Avanimuḷudaiyal) made some arrangement for the supply of milk and curds. The inscription is fragmentary and was found on a slab paved into the floor of the west side of the first prakāra. It must have found its way there when the flooring was laid after the renovation of the garbhagriham & vimanam in 1250

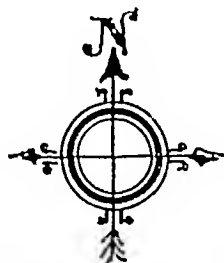
There is also the old unfinished or *mondi* gopuram which was recently renovated and furnished with a roof and a kind of turret much unlike the others of the old style. This gopuram faces the south. A short paved roadway towards the north leads to another small gopuram and portal of older construction. It is after crossing this gateway that the street known as the *Sannidhi* street runs east to west straight to the main gateway and gopuram of the temple known as *Mukhadvāram* or the 'Periya Tiruvāsal, and now called 'Padikāvali Gopuram. At the eastern end of this street stands the shrine of *Anjanēya* or *Hanumān*, facing the temple. To the left is the old thousand pillared *mantapam*. That part of it which abuts the street has in recent times been converted into living tenements and a portion for the Police station. To the north of the road lies the *Periya Jiyar matham*, a market stall and a few shops. At the western end and right in front of the gopuram is a small but tall four pillared *mantapam* which was much used during festivals in olden times. From this *mantapam* there is a flight of steps to the full width of the street descending to meet the *East Mada Street* running north to south in front of the main gateway of the temple.

Pilgrims usually secure lodgings in one or the other of the pilgrims quarters belonging to the *Devasthanam* or may have to be under obligation to

1 Tradition considers it sacrilegious for any pilgrim to ascend the Tirumalai Hill with shoes on and without bathing (particularly) in the *Ajwar Tirtham* in Tirupati.

MAP OF TIRUMALAI:

SCALE 200' PER 1" INCH



REFERENCES TO NUMBERS

- | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|
| 1. | SRI TIRUMALAI NAMBI TIRUMALIGAI |
| 2. | • AHOBILA MATHAM |
| 3. | ARCHAKA'S HOUSES |
| 4. | • UTTARADI MATHAM |
| 5. | PARAKALASWAMI MATHAM |
| 6. | • JCEYANGARS MATHAM |
| 7. | POLICE STATION |
| 8. | BED ANGENEYASWAMI TEMPLE |
| 9. | KUMARA THA IYYANGARS MANTAPAM |
| 10. | SRI VARAHASWAMI TEMPLE |

TIRUMALAI TEMPLE AND ITS ENVIRONS

Pandas who not only provide lodgings but act as guides and cater to all the requirements and conveniences of their wards

As the main object of the pilgrim is to worship in the temple the usual formalities observed before entering the temple will now be described. He goes or is taken to the small pond which is provided with cut stone steps and has a mantapam at its centre called Neerāḷi mantapam. This pond is situated to his right as he faces the temple and close to the north prākāram wall of the temple. A number of shops on its banks however hide its view. This pond is called the "**Svami Pushkarini**" or Tirukōnēri and is considered so holy that all the thirty-three crores of sacred waters in creation are said somehow to find their way into it on the sacred day known as 'Mukkōṭi Dvādasi.' Here a purohit who claims hereditary privilege, helps the pilgrim to a purificatory bath in the traditionally accepted manner after reciting the Sankalpa mantrams. The pilgrim is then made to circumambulate the four main streets surrounding the temple and the Pushkarini which form the '**Mahapradakshinam**'. On the north-western shore of the Pushkarini and almost near the middle of the north mada street stands the temple of **Sri Varaha swamy**, also known as **Varaha Nainar** and **Gnanappiran**, (the boar avatar of Sri Vishnu). The pilgrim is expected to worship this God first so that spiritual knowledge or Gnānam may dawn on him and make him fit to worship Sri Venkatēswara.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

The north and south māda streets of the Mahā pradakṣhinam measure about 800 feet each in length and the west māda street is about 900 feet. But the east māda street running in front of the main temple and alongside the east bank of the Pushkarinī measures about 750 feet. The ground slopes from west to east. The entire area bounded by these streets is very much lower in level than the outlying country. It may roughly be taken that the māda streets are about 15 feet lower in level than the outlying ground whereon houses have sprung up. The ground beyond this rises rapidly on all sides. The space enclosed by the māda streets would originally have been uneven ground and considerable amount of excavation and levelling should have been done to bring it to its present shape. The area of this plot is roughly 16 acres and comprises the Temple proper the Svamī Pushkarinī the Varahaswami temple and a site called the Pāta Pushkarinī where a tank was constructed by Achyutarāya Mahārāya in the 16th century and subsequently filled up by the Mahants in the 19th century. There are also behind the Temple and the Svamī Pushkarinī a number of lanes and houses which at one time were cultivated gardens (Nandavanams) maintained to supply daily fruits and flowers for the use of the Deity. The vast amount of excavation and levelling done should naturally have made the temple authorities realise that the Deity stood on very low ground. So they seem to have changed His name from 'Uchchīyilnīrān' (he who

TIRUMALAI TEMPLE AND ITS ENVIRONS

stood on the summit) to 'Malai kuniya nīnṛān' (he who stood where the hill bowed) Out of the total area of 16 acres the present temple covers 2.20 acres, the Svami pushkarini 1.50 acres and the Pāta pushkarini 2.50 acres (the Pāta pushkarini is now a flower garden with some houses) The remaining 10 acres are covered by a number of lanes, houses and some mathams, although originally they were all flourishing Nandavanams supplying flowers and fruits to the temple The present Ahobila matham in the south māḍa street (facing south) was one such flower garden or Nandavanam in the early years of the 14th century A D with a matham located in the garden The matham then bore the name "Vaṇ Saṭhakōpan Tirunandavanam" There was also the Sitakaragandam Matham Some fragmentary and incomplete inscriptions of the pre-Yadavaraya period mention some mathams whose names are however lost

The old land-marks on the boundary of this area are (1) The Tirumalai Nambi Tirumālgai (the house in which Tirumalai Nambi lived in the last quarter of the 10th century A D) It was the first building, (a stone mantapam with mud walls all round) in the south māḍa street facing the north. It is near this place that the processional deity makes the first halt during festival processions and the recital of Vēdam and the Tamil Prabhandam commence formally with the blessings of the deity. The Ahobila matham (or Vaṇ Saṭhakōpan matham)

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

is also in this street some distance further west facing the south. There are also the old residences of some of the other āchāryapurushas (2). At the end of the south mada street and nearly where it meets the west mada street stood the garden tiru maligai (or garden house) where Sri Anantha[var the famous disciple of Sri Ramanuja, lived in the last quarter of the 11th century A.D. The garden and the tank stand outside the temple area. At the south west corner the pathway from Chandragiri joins this mada street. There is a mantapam at the junction. (3) In the west māda street are a number of choultries facing the east, the well known ones being thoes which belong to the Maharaja of Mysore and the Raja of Piṭhāpuram (the latter is now owned by the Devasthanam). There are also other mathams of recent origin. Some of the āchārya purushas and the sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanur owned houses in this street. After 1843 A.D. the Mahants of the Hattirāmji Mntt who were also the Vicharanakartas of the temple extended their possessions. It is worth remembering that as in the south mada street, so also in all the other streets the houses were originally stone mantapams which were subsequently converted into houses by raising mud walls between the pillars. They might have been built by the temple authorities and given as free quarters. (4) The Pata Pushkarini and the Svāmi Pushkarini together abut a large part of the north mada street. The archakas (nambināra) have their houses on either side of this street. Sri

Varahasvami temple is on the shore of the Svami Pushkarini and at its north-west corner adjacent to the archaka houses. A house site (facing south) which was confiscated from an erring archaka was gifted away by Sri Krishnadēvarāva Maharaya to Siman Vyāsa Tīrtha Sripāda Udayār for constructing a **Madhwa Matham** in 1524 A.D. The forebears of our Ex Governor-General, Sri C Rajagopalachariar had their home in this street next east to this matham. This street has a steep gradient from west to east and the dragging of the big four faced wooden car during the Brahmotsavam has to be managed by dexterous application of breaks and steering. At the north east corner is the Kaltēr mantapam (கலத்தேர் மண்டபம்) where during the Vijayanagar days swing festivals used to be celebrated. At the north west corner the **hill-path from Bhakarapet** to the temple joins this street, and at the north east corner the **one from Mamandur** and Piliutla joins. The pathway to the Ākasa Ganga and the **Papavinasam waterfalls** also take off at the latter corner. (5) the east māda street has the Svāmi Pushkarini and the **temple** to its west, while there are some houses of acharyapurushas, and others and also the **Brahmatantraswami matham (Parakalaswami mutt)** on the east side. The large four faced **wooden car** and the **car-stand mantapam**, the **Divanam** building of the Devasthanam and the **Vahana mantapam** are also on this side. At the southern end can be seen the west face of the thousand pillared mantapam. The most disquieting

and disfiguring feature of the east māda street is the existence of a large number of coffee hotels and shops along the shores of the Pushkarini which pollute the tank. There are also numerous shops in temporary sheds of inflammable material abutting the temple wall and the base of the thousand pillared mantapam. These have considerably narrowed the already narrow width of this street. In case of a fire accident all the inscriptions on the temple wall will be lost. The starting of the car procession in this narrow space is a difficult affair. Even the mantapams which were constructed by Saluva Narasimha and other great devotees on the shores of the Pushkarini for use during the floating festival have become shops and coffee hotels.

The Thousand Pillared mandapam

The thousand pillared mantapam is rectangular in shape and is bounded on the west by the east māda street, on the north by the sannidhi street, on the east by the street or pathway from the newly renovated gopuram to the small gopuram at the eastern end of the sannidhi street and on the south by the street in front of the Sri Hattiramji matham. The Hattiramji matham stands on high ground and is on a level with the top of the terrace of the thousand pillared mantapam. There is a row of corrugated iron sheds for housing pilgrims constructed on this terrace and facing the Hattiramji murti. The ground floor of the mantapam stands half submerged by the street on its east side. This

mantapam was constructed from out of the annual income of the village of Durgasamudram which Sāluva Naraśimha endowed, in 1472 A.D. for the specific purpose of building gopurams, mantapams and prākāram walls of the temple. It does not now serve the purposes for which it was originally constructed. Its renovation and use for festivals would commemorate the name of that great benefactor.

Sri Hattiramji Mutt :—This is still an important matham in Tirumalai although its secular connection with the temple, and therefore its influence, nominally came to an end from 1933 when the Committee system of management replaced the Vichāranakarta Mahant. The Mahant however continued to be a hereditary member of the Committee and wielded much power. The administration of the temple by the Mahant Vicharanakartas from 1843 A.D. onwards was marked by a series of litigation which characterised it as one of embezzlement, misappropriation and diversion of temple funds.

The Committee which replaced the Mahant in 1933 had not the legal powers to prevent the diversion of temple income. 'Dalalies' still ply their old trade with impunity and even openly. The rival temple within the matham still continues to receive votaries. It is believed that the unwary and simple-minded pilgrim is seduced by the Dalal into the Matham and is made to feel convinced

that it would be more pleasing to Sri Venkateswara if the intended votive offerings are given away in part or in full to the Matham. There seems to be no provision in the new H. R. E. Act of 1951 to effectively check diversion of temple income.

In the old days a pilgrimage to Tirumalai was not without its risks and discomforts. Rulers and men having wealth and influence would bring with them a retinue of followers for purposes of safety. During the years when the Muslim Emperor of Delhi and the Nabob subordinate to him, the French and the English were fighting for political supremacy conditions seem to have been far worse than during the Vijayanagar rule. Reference was already made in Chapter I as to how the British were employing the caste Hindu sopoys to safeguard the routes during the Brahmotsavam period. But neither the British nor the Muslims ever set foot on the Hill out of respect to the sentiments of the caste Hindus. After the management of the temple passed into the hands of the Mahants in 1843 A.D. circumstances made it necessary to violate the old traditions. Increase in the commission of grave crimes even within the Mahants' Matham on the hill and the non-co-operative attitude of the Mahants to facilitate detection compelled the Government to establish in 1872 a Police station on the hill and a police force to maintain law and order. European District officers of the Magistracy, the Police and

the Excise departments were permitted to ascend the hill, for exercising supervision and control; but not other officers. The exemption was, however, extended to others also at the discretion of the Mahant.

A very commodious and well-furnished Travellers' bungalow was constructed in recent times for the halt of a European Governor of the Province. This Bungalow has since been improved by the Devasthanam Committee. A hill which according to tradition burns away all sins, became a rendezvous for criminals committing grave crimes and European officer had to be welcomed on the Hill. The Travellers' Bungalow is in a lovely spot overlooking the pathway to Chandragiri and on the shores of the Ananthālvār tank which supplies drinking water to the pilgrims.



CHAPTER VIII

PART (2)

THE TIRUMALAI TEMPLE —Gopurams, Prakarams Pradakshinams and the Structures thereon.

The Sanctum is surrounded on all sides by three compound walls known as Prākārams or Āvaranam. The space enclosed between these walls increases in width the narrowest being between the Garbhagriham wall and the first prakaram and the widest being that between the outer and the middle prakaram. As is usual there is only one entrance for each prakaram which is on the east side and gopurams have been constructed over the two outer entrances. The space enclosed between each set of prakaram is called a pradakshinam or antarmunḍalam or circumambulating space. The pradakshinam surrounding the Garbhagriham has, however, remained closed for the public except for one day in the year for about seven centuries past.

After circumambulating the maha pradakshinam the pilgrim arrives at the main gateway of the temple or Periya Gōpura Vasal or Padikavali. At a distance of about 120 feet from this gateway is the inner Gopuram with its gateway. From these gopurams take off on either side high compound walls about 4 feet in thickness which completely enclose the ground covered by the temple.

The outer Gopuram

The outer Gopuram stands on a quadrangular base 38 feet south to north and 32 feet east to west.

THE TIRUMALAI TEMPLE

The gateway or opening called Mukha Dvāram or Tiruvāsal is in the middle and about 11 feet wide. There are two cutstone door frames symmetrically placed from either end. The door jambs, the sills and soffits of these are of wide and thick cut stone and carved in the traditional style. The front doorway alone has folding doors hung on pivots and made of stout lattice wood work, backed with thick battens fastened together by stout iron nails having artistic heads. The doors are closed during nights after temple service, bolted and locked from inside. There is also a trap door on the left side door which is kept open on occasions when the main doors have to be kept closed. Only the privileged few are allowed to get into the temple by this trap door. The compound walls emanating from the outer gopuram measure 414 feet east to west and 263 feet south to north.

No inscription records the date of construction of this gopuram and the prakaram attached to it. An approximation could however be made. There is an inscription on the right side front face of the door-jamb wall of the gopuram dated the 12th regnal year of Tribhuvana Chakravartigal Sri Yādavarāya Viranarasinga Dēvar which records the gift of 62 cows and two breeding bulls for the daily supply of ghee for lighting two Nandāvilakku. The year would correspond to 1217 A.D. The place where the inscription is found leads us to believe that the outer gopuram had come into existence

before that date Chronologically the next inscription is on the door jamb wall (front) in Sanskrit language and Grantha script That states that Srīman Vīranarasimha Dēva Nripatī having conquered his enemies and having become famous, assumed all the emblems of royalty—such as elephants, garland svēta chohatram—also that he had himself weighed against gold and that with that gold he made Vōṅkatagiri rival Suragiri (or Mount Meru) in brilliance This event would have taken place late during his reign and perhaps some time about 1260 A D There are many other inscriptions of still later dates on this gopuram But the one which deserves notice is fragmentary and is in a niche above the first tier of the gopuram to the south of the passage Translated into English it reads Kshōmāsura who is Ganapati for him who forcibly expelled from the town These words appear to refer to the exploits of the Emperor Sundara Pandya who reigned from 1251-1275 A D The fragment may be assigned to about the year 1260 A D It might be surmised from this that the outer gopuram although constructed before 1217 A.D had only a bald terrace until about 1260 A.D when the first tier of the gopuram appears to have been raised The construction of a bald gopuram (without the tiers) might have been the work of one of the earlier Yadavarayas perhaps Ghaṭṭi Dēva or Rajamalla or even Srī Vīranarasimha It may be stated here that all the inscriptions relating to Jaṭavarman Sundara Pandya (the overlord of the

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country from 1251 A.D.) are on the right and left base of the inner gopuram, including No I-45 of the year 1264 A D and No. I-51 which refers to his crowning himself in Kānchi. The presence of a fragment in a niche in the first tier of the outer gopuram leads to the inference that the tiers of the outer gopuram were constructed at a very late period when some of the Pandyan inscriptions had even gone to pieces. We know that Sāluva Narasiṅga Dēva endowed the village of Durgasamudram for the purpose of constructing and repairing gopurams etc., about the year 1472-1482 A.D.¹ The tiers might have been constructed during that period. The construction of the prakaram walls might have commenced soon after the completion of the gopuram (without the tiers). At any rate, at the time when Śrī Ranganathaswamy of Srirangam was brought to Tirumalai about 1320 or 1330 A D the outer prakaram walls were in existence, since the shrine for Śrī Ranganatha abuts the south prākaram wall. Inscriptions however were not made on these walls until the end of the 15th century or the beginning of the 16th century. The most conspicuous is the one on the east wall, outer side, south of the gopuram inscribed by the personal engraver of Śrī Krishna Deva Maharaya. It is in Sanskrit poetry and prose and Telugu script. In it the geneology of the Emperor is traced from the Moon. The geneology is only a preamble to an endowment made by him in the year 1513 A D² of

1. II. 79. 1482 A D

2. III. 65, 1513 A D

three villages from the income of which a Brah mōtsayam was to be celebrated annually for Tiru vengalanātha Dēva for the merit of his father Narasanāyaka Udayāru and his mother Nāgarājam mangāru. A Kanarese version of the same in nandi nagari script is on the south wall of the second prakaram. It is thus seen that the third or outer prakaram wall came into use for inscriptions long after the second one had been largely used.

THE SAMPANGI PRADAKSHINAM.

(Or the third Avaranam.)

Leaving the outer gopuram passage behind, the pilgrim enters a mantapam 36 ft. × 36 feet standing on sixteen pillars and adjoining the gopuram. In front of this and at a distance of about 50 feet therefrom is a similar mantapam situated in front of the inner gopuram. This will be described later. These two mantapams, with the open space in between practically cover the width of the front or eastern portion of the Sampangi Pradakshinam, which is the name given to the quadrangular space between the outer prakaram and the next inner one. Although the frontage or open space here is about 120 feet in width, on the other three sides it is hardly 50 feet. The structures and objects found in this portion will now be mentioned.

Krishnarayar Mantapam — This one adjoins the outer gopuram above mentioned. This name is given to it for want of a better one. The objects

which come to view therein are a number of statues, placed on either side of the passage with their back to the west wall of the gopuram. It is worth noting that all the statues of the Emperors are bare-bodied except for the under-wear or loin cloth. This is in conformity with the rules enjoined by the Agamas and the Purāṇas when going to worship the Deity in a temple. There are thirty-two rules for observance and these will be given later. On the north side are three statues in bronze which represent **Sri Vira Krishnadeva Maharaya** with two of his queens, **Tirumalai Devi** on the left and **Chinna Devi** on the right. The Emperor wears the crown which is said to be of his own design. On the south side are three more, the first one being the copper statue of **King Venkata-patiraya**. The next two are of stone representing an Emperor and his queen. The Devasthanam epigraphist has stated that they represent probably **Tirumalaraya** and his queen **Vengalāmba**. This, however, does not appear to be a correct surmise as none of our inscriptions couples with his name the Emperor's titles. They are more likely to represent **Achyutaraya Maharaya** and his queen **Varadaji amman**. There is a clear cut **Vaḍagalai** caste mark on the fore-head of the Emperor, just below the crown. It is an undisputed fact that **Achyuta Raya** was a staunch sectarian **Sri Vaishnava**. Soon after his liberation from the **Chandiagni** fortress, he was given a sacred bath in the **Tirumalai Temple** with the consecrated water poured from the conch used

for the daily Tirumanjanam of Bhōga Srinivasa. The coronation then took place in the temple itself for the first time. This conch (Sankham) would have been handled for this purpose only by an Acharyapurusha since an archaka would not have been accepted by that emperor as a religious preceptor. Kumaratatayyengar, son of Eṭṭūr Soṭṭai Tirumalainambi Thoḷappār Iyengar, who was a prominent Vadagalai Ācharyapurusha would naturally have done the abhishekam and crowning ceremony. It has to be borne in mind here that Achyutaraya personally performed the Srinivasa Sahasranamarchana while the archaka had to content himself with reciting the 1,008 names. This shows how conceited he was as a Sri Vaishnava devotee. The statue shows that he was a Vadagalai. It is also seen from an inscription of his endowment for the celebration of a Lakṣmidevi festival in Tirumalai that he preferred to be styled therein as Svami Achyutaraya Maharaya (not Sri Vira Achyutaraya Maharaya) and his wife as Svami Varadaji Amman. Svami is generally the eponym prefixed to the name of a Srivaishnava held in veneration. For the above reasons, we may state confidently that these two statues represent Achyutaraya and his queen Varadajiamman. By way of contrast, it may be noted that there is no caste mark on the forehead of Krishnadevaraya and Venkatapaturaya. Venkatapaturaya has a long garland of beads (lotus or tulasi) round his neck, so also Achyutaraya. Although Achyuta and Krishna

wear the Kanthi (neck ornament) the kanthi of the latter has something like a rudraksham in the middle. There are three other statues stationed near the Dhvarastambha mantapam and facing north. They are those of Khemaran (Todara Mall) and his family Mata Mohanade and Pita Bibi.

Ranga Mantapam.

Abutting the east and south walls of the outer prakaram and to the south of the Krishnaiāya mantapam is the Ranga Mantapam standing on high basement and measuring about sixty feet east to west and 108 feet north to south. At nearly its southern end is a small shrine about 12 feet square which has long been kept closed. The shrine appears to have been the abode of Sri Ranganatha of Srirangam during His stay in Tirumalai in the years 1320-1360 A.D. After the idol was conveyed back to Srirangam the shrine seems to have been closed. In front of it is the big Sēshavāhanam screening the above shrine. A portion of the mantapam on the eastern side as well as the western side has been converted into store rooms. This Ranga mantapam might have been constructed by Sriranganatha Yadavaraya, the local ruler, to accommodate Sri Ranganatha of Srirangam when the idol was removed from Srirangam owing to the fear of molestation by the Muslim hordes of Malik Kafur about the year 1310-1320 A.D. The shrine is a small one owing to the fact that only the Utsava Vighram was brought over. Consequently a small

Mūla Vigraham would have been manufactured locally to serve as Mūlaberam, and installed within the shrine. The mantapam spacious enough to accommodate the fairly large number of refugee Pancharatra worshippers who would have gone over from Srirangam to Tirumalai for carrying on the worship according to the Pancharatra Agama, which is different from the Vaikhānasa Agama of the Tirumalai temple. The spaciousness of the mantapam suggests that when Sri Ranganatha was here His daily services according to the Pancharatra agama were performed with great eclat by the large band of Sri Vaishnavas who accompanied that Deity. This left its mark on the present composite form of daily worship since developed in Tirumalai and in the many festivals introduced which were before foreign to the Vaikhanasas. It is worth reminding that congregational worship in Srirangam was current even at the time the Silappadhikaram was composed (சிலப்பதிகாரம்) in 756 A.D.

The Tirumalarayan and Anna Unjal mantapam

Next to the Ranga mantapam and extending to within 12 feet of the east prakaram wall of the inner gopuram is another spacious mantapam measuring 40 feet east to west and about 80 feet north to south. This mantapam consists of two parts constructed at different periods. The southern or inner portion (10 ft. x 45 ft) has a more elevated basement than the front one and might have been constructed by Śāluva Narasimha in the middle of

the 15th century for celebrating the Anna Unjal Tirunal instituted by him in the year 1473 A.D.¹ This structure was renovated and extended to its present size and shape by Araviti Bukkaraja Ramaraja Srirangaraja Tirumalaraja in the last quarter of the 16th century. In this mantapam other festivals like the Vasantōtsavam, were also celebrated during Tirumalaraja's time. This mantapam has finely carved high pillars depicting a warrior riding a horse standing erect on its hind legs over an elephant, etc. It is in this mantapam that the Processional Deity, Malayappan has been annually holding His Asthanam or Durbar on the evening of the hoisting of the Garuda Dhvajam on top of the Dhvajastambham to mark the commencement of the Brahmotsavam. The prasadam distribution on this occasion called Tirumalaayan pongal is a delicacy greatly appreciated by pilgrims. Although the endowment made by him for that has disappeared, the pongal continues to be offered regularly. In the middle of the older structure stands the cut-stone carved pavilion where the Deity is seated for the occasion. This mantapam practically touches a portion of the Dhvajastambham Mantapam. At its north-east corner is a small raised pial where the elephant (on whose back during the Brahmotsavam days a pot of the water from the Akasa-ganga falls is brought in street procession) bends down for the person bringing the water to alight. The above

¹ This probably is the mantapam mentioned in II 79 as the Narasimharāya mantapam.

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structures are all on the southern side of the open space. On the northern side there is another mantapam about 42 feet square with an enclosed room of about the same size in continuation. This room is called the **AINA MAHAL**, and is of late origin. Its front mantapam is now used for vending prasadam. In an article contributed to the Asiatic journal of the year 1831 by the highest Revenue Officer of the district it is stated that Addāla (७५०) festival was being celebrated most likely in the room in this mantapam the walls being lined with huge mirrors.

Poola Bavi —Poola Bavi (or well into which flowers are immersed). To the north of the Aina Mahal is a stop well called the Poola Bavi into which all the flowers used for the decoration of the Deity are thrown after removal. The tradition is that flowers on the hill should be used only for God and not for man. It is also the rule according to all Agamas that flowers removed after use by the Deity should be deposited in a well.

Dhvajastambha Mantapam —This mantapam appears to have been built for the purpose of affording shelter on the occasion of the Dvajārōhnam ceremony of the Brahmotsavam. As the festival occurs about the month of September when there are rains a mantapam has always been a necessity. The Bali piṭham and Dhvajastambham which measure together about 15 ft east to west stand practically in the centre of this mantapam in front

of the inner gopuram The **Balipitham** which stands in front of the **Dhvajastambham** is square in shape and made of cut-stone, broader at the base and decreasing by steps to a smaller size at a height of about 5½ ft The Bali-stone on top is about a foot in diameter The structure was in recent years covered with gold gilt copper plates. The **Dhvajastambham** or flag-staff is a long piece of timber circular in section and encased in gold gilt copper sheeting. It stands on a cubical cut-stone structure also covered over with gold gilt copper sheets.

It is an uncommon thing that these two structures should be found outside the inner gopuram and in the space known as the third **Āvaranam** (between the second and the third **prākāram**.) In its earliest days this temple would have had only one **Āvaranam** surrounding the **Garbhagriham** The **Agama** rule, rather practice, in such a case is to locate **Garuda**, the **Dhvajastambham** and the **Balipitham** in the first **āvaranam** itself in the following order. Divide the frontage of the first **āvaranam** into four equal parts. **Garuda** and **Dhvaja** would be in the second quarter, **Garuda** being nearest to the **Vimānam**. The **Balipitham** would be in the third quarter. Where there is a second **āvaranam** also (the space between the inner gopuram and the first **prakaram** wall) **Garuda** would be placed in the second quarter of this **āvaranam** and **Dhvaja** and **Balipitham** would come in the third quarter of the **āvaranam** This second **āvaranam** was built about 1190 A.D. **Garuda**, the

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Dhvajastambham¹ and Balipitham would therefore have been within the second āvaranam until the date of construction of the Tirumāmani Mantapam about 1417 A D. As that construction left little space for the Dhvajastambham and Balipitham, they were shifted to the third avaranam. The Vaikhanasa agama however recognises this arrangement also as a last resort but they should be in the third quarter and not in the first where we find them now.

The other three sides, viz., south, west and north sides of the Sampangi Pradakshinam were, while constructing the prakaram walls, left as more open space. But in due course corridors of the mantapam type were constructed abutting the walls on one side and carried on pillars at the other end. These have high basement. On the south side this corridor is about 17 to 18 ft in width, leaving an open space of 30 ft width for the pradakshinam. But in recent times the corridor has been converted into a number of rooms for storing the samans of the floats for the floating festival and also for storing the wooden dolls used for decorating the car for the car festival. On the west side the corridor is 26 ft in width with three rows of pillars. A large part of this space has been converted into rooms called UGRANAM (store room) for storing the provisions required for preparing food offerings such as rice, pulses, ghee, jaggery, sugar, oil etc. These are usually purchased in bulk and stored. The pounding and cleaning of rice, pulses and other

articles are carried out here under the supervision of an officer called Ugramam Parpatyadar till recently. This duty was originally performed by the Jiyangar who about the year 1390 A. D. was entrusted with the task under the designation "Koil Kelvi" Jiyar. It was his job to examine and approve the quality of the articles and to issue the daily requirements. Without his permission no article would have been received or issued. It is stated in the Asiatic journal (already referred to) that in 1831 A.D. the Jiyangar assisted by his Ekāngis was the Store keeper acting under the orders of the Parapatyadar (the chief officer). The north side corridor is similar to that on the west and has been converted into a number of rooms. The open space or the Pradakshinam on the west side is 22 ft. 6 in., wide while that on the eastern end is 25 ft. There is a long room known as Ramanuja Kutam where the portion of the food intended for pilgrims is freely distributed. The next room is known as Padi Potu where panyarams or (fried and baked preparations and sweets) are made for being offered to the Deity. As in these preparations portions of ghee and some other articles once used are kept over for future use, the place of preparation is removed from the kitchen where cooked food is prepared. Next to this room is the Yamunatturai where flower garlands are daily made to exact sizes required for decorating the Dhruva Beram and other deities. It owes its name to Yamunācharya or Sri Ālavandār who is said to have given a start to this kind of work in his days.

The next room is filled with articles of the float. The original purpose for which these corridors were constructed might have been for the procession of the Utsavar Beram around the Pradakshinam on rainy days when street procession was impracticable and also to afford shelter to pilgrims in inclement weather. That purpose, however, is not being served now.

1 Saluva Narasimha's four Mantapams in the Sampangi Pradakshinam.

At each of the four corners of the open space there is a small mantapam on four pillars measuring about 10 ft square. These were constructed by Sāluva Nārasiṃha about 1470 A.D. in the name of himself, his wife and his two sons. It was arranged that on almost all festival occasions the processional Deity should be seated at each of these and that food offerings should be made there and distributed to the pilgrims. Even now they serve the purpose during the forty days of Vasantotsavam soon after the Yugadi day. This pradakshinam is called in the inscriptions Sambaga chelurru (சம்பகச்சேலுர்) the word Sambagam being the Tamil equivalent of Sampangi or Champaka. There might have been several Champaka trees therein, whose sweet smelling flowers were daily offered to the Deity.

The Inner Gopuram.

After circumambulating the Sampangi pradakshinam we arrive at the inner gopuram. The inner gopuram measures at its base 24 feet east to west

TIRUMALAI TEMPLE—INNER 'GOPURAM

and 36 ft south to north, the width of the gate-way or entrance being 9 feet. It is similar to the outer gopuram in design. The compound or prakāram walls emanating from this gōpuram measure on the outside 235 ft. east to west and 160 ft. north to south. These walls as in the case of the outer prakaram, are faced on both sides with well dressed cut-stone, the thickness of the walls being about 3 feet. There are numerous inscriptions on the outer as well as the inner face of these walls and also on the base and the walls of the gōpuram. The general feature of these is that the older inscriptions are on the base-ment and walls of the gopuram, the next in point of time being those on the inner face of the prakāram walls. The outer faces of these walls contain inscriptions of the 15th and 16th centuries.

The date of construction of the gōpuram is not given in any inscription. There are however a number of these—some complete, some incomplete and others fragmentary—on the base and the walls of the gopuram itself which enable us to fix the date of construction with some degree of probability, if not of accuracy. The earliest of the complete inscriptions is on the south base (left inner side) dated the 19th regnal year of **Tirukkalatti Devan**. It records an **endowment** made by him of all the lands of **Kudavur village** to Tiruvēṅgaḍaṁuḍaiyān for His daily Nīmandam or daily worship and food offerings. There are two other inscriptions, one dated the 34th regnal year of **Sri Viranarasinga Yadavaraya** on the south base (right inner side). The other is an in-

complete inscription of the Saka year Vikrama on the north base (left outer side) and it records the grant of some village (name missing) by Nayanar Pillai Viranarasinga. The year Vikrama corresponds to 1220 21 A.D. The earliest inscription being of the year 1209 A.D. we can safely assume that the inner gopuram was then in existence. There are, however several other inscriptions which though fragmentary *still enable us to state that the gopuram would have been constructed, at least the base portion of it, some time in 1160-1170 A.D.* These inscriptions are on the north base of the gopuram and are partially hidden by the thickness of the prakaram wall which obviously was constructed a fairly long time after the gopuram itself. If at the time the inscriptions were made the construction of the prakaram was at least in immediate sight sufficient space would have been left for the thickness of the wall while inscribing. Or it may be that this portion of the prakaram wall was cut open and reconstructed in 1244 50 A.D. when the temple was renovated which will be discussed later. These inscriptions are largely the work of Sri Anandalvan's grandson Venkaṭatturai var. Anandalvan is presumed to have been born in 1048 A.D. and would have been 90 years old when Sri Ramanuja died in 1137 A.D. Assuming that

1. As the word Nayanar is prefixed to the name we presume that the inscription belongs to the later Chola period when either Viranarasinga or his son Pillaviranasingar made the grant. The later Vikrama year 1260 A.D. is not the likely one as the Cholas were not then in power and the prefix Nayanar would not have been used.

TIRUMALAI TEMPLE—VIMANA PRADAKSHINAM

Anandalvan's son and grandson were born at intervals of 40 years, the grandson Venkatatturaivar would have been 10 years old when Sri Ramanuja died. The inscriptions made by him convey his pledge (probably to his father) to carry on the Nandavanam work and also the amudu padī and sattuppadī (either for Tiruvengamudaiyan or for Sri Ramanuja's temple in Tirumalai)¹ The temple or shrine of Sri Ramanuja might have come into existence about 40 years after his death. Seeing that a similar temple was in affluent state in Tirupati in 1220 A.D. the assumption of an earlier origin for the one in Tirumalai is justifiable. Tradition ascribes the consecration of this shrine to Pillai Thirumalainambis. More details about this fragmentary inscription are given in the chapter on the temple of Govindarajaswami.

THE VIMANA PRADAKSHINAM.

After crossing the inner gopuram we enter the open space which is now called the Vimāna Pradakshinam. This is a quadrangular space enclosed between the walls of the second prakaram of the inner gopuram and the walls of the first prakaram which surround the Sanctum. The open space of this Pradakshinam between the gateway of the inner

1 This is a fragmentary inscription I 79 D on the East wall inner side south of the inner Gopuram which indicates something about Ramanuja Emperumanar on a day in Saunmya year. This year can be no other than 1129-30 A.D. If the base of the inner gopuram was then in existence Anandalvan's son would have got it inscribed on the base like so many others. The inference therefore is that the inner gopuram was commenced after 1130 A.D.

gopuram and the large mantapam to the west of it, the Tirumamani or Mukha mantapam is hardly 18 ft. Consideration of the Sanctum will be taken up later. In addition to the structures composing the Sanctum, there are a large number of other cut stone structures, shrines and mantapams within this Vimāna Pradakshinam. These leave a comparatively narrow width of open space surrounding the Sanctum. It is this open space which is called the Vimāna Pradakshinam.

Anga Pradakshinam.

It is in this space that pilgrims circumambulate the Sanctum. Women and men while in great distress of body and mind some times take a special vow (or prārthana) that when freed from distress by the Divine Grace they would take a cold plunge bath in the sacred waters of the Svāmi Pushkarini and with the wet clothes on circumambulate the Sanctum in a prostrate condition. This circumambulation is called Anga Pradakshinam. The person rolls round the Sanctum on the stone pavement of the Vimāna pradakehinam in a prostrate condition so that every part of the body touches the floor. Some attendant (a relation usually) would help him or her in keeping to the correct position and in changing at corners. The structures abutting the second prākāram wall will now be stated.

Sri Varadarajaswami shrine.

This shrine is about 7 feet to the south from the inner gopuram and 2 feet from the East prakaram

TIRUMALAI TEMPLE—VIMANA PRADAKSHINAM

wall. It is a small one about 20 feet in length and 15 feet in width and is dedicated to Sri Varadarajaswami. The History of this shrine will be given later. The pilgrim circumambulates this shrine also except during Anga pradakshinam.

An inscription on its north wall dated 16th regnal year of Srianganātha Yādavarāya (1354-55 A.D.) shows that the Temple was built before that date. It was probably built during the Malik Kafur's invasion of the South and was meant for Sri Varadarajaswami of Kānchi. To the south of this shrine is the main kitchen known as Pōṭu and is about 61 ft. x 30 ft. standing on a basement $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high. The cooking of all articles for the day's food offering to the Deity is done here. New earthen pots only are used every day. Once used they are broken and never used again. The supply of these is a mirāsi right called Kumara Svarūpam. The supply of fire wood from the temple forests was also a Mirāsi right. The present supply is however from Government forests taken on contract by the Devasthanam, the coupes being worked under the supervision of the Government Forest department. There is a small shrine inside and close to the door-way of the kitchen and the presiding Goddess therein is known as Madapulī Nāchchiār, who keeps watch over the doings of the cooks. In front of this kitchen and adjoining the corridor which runs to the west is the well known **Bangaru Bavi** from which all the water required for the temple and the kitchen in particular

is drawn. This well is considered to be a holy one. The site of it is as directed in the āgama.

Corridor—The height of basement of the **Corridor** which starting from the kitchen runs west is the same as that of the kitchen. Its roof adjoins at one end the second prakaram wall while the other end is carried on cut-stone pillars. There is also an intermediate row of pillars 7 ft. distant from the end row. The total width is 19 ft.

Kalyana Mantapam.

The western end of the corridor has been converted into a large mantapam 80 ft. x 36 ft called the Kalyāna mantapam. The date of its construction is not known but it may be assigned to the end of the 16th century. Architecturally it is similar to the Tirumalarāya Mantapam. The pillars are exquisitely well carved and the ceiling of the roof of the central portion possesses beauty. At its western end is situated a small shrine with a small but beautiful mantapam carried on slender cut stone pillars well sculptured and surmounted by a Vimānam. Behind the shrine is a raised portion called the Yagasala where Homams are performed in connection with Brahmotsavam and other festivals. This mantapam is called the Kalyana Mantapam because Kalyanotsavam (or marriage festival) is celebrated here. Whenever a pilgrim pays the prescribed fee and requires it to be done Malayappan and His Consorts are brought here to take part in this festival. The mantapam and the festival are both

of late origin. The festival is described in a separate chapter along with other festivals. This mantapam is also used by the processional Deity Malayappan and His consorts in connection with the Brahmotsavam and the Adhyayanotsavam for long periods. The idols are then housed in the small shrine above referred to and the decoration etc., take place in the small mantapam in front of it. From the day of Dhvajārōhanam of the Brahmotsavam to the day of the Dipāvali Āsthanam (in the Pūratasi and Arppasi months) Malayappan resides here and not in the Sanctum Sanctorum. So also for a period of twenty-three days in the month of December in connection with the Adhyayanōtsavam. The Āsthanams take place during those days in this mantapam only.

The width of this mantapam necessarily contracts the open space of the Pradakshinam to about 11 feet width and even the processions of the Deity have to pass through this narrow space with difficulty.

The west corridor;—This corridor is similar to the one on the south side, but a little wider. It is also divided into a number of rooms for storing Vāhanams. In a small room the Devasthanam publications are now being kept for sale. In this part of the Pradakshinam some Ārjitam Festivals are some times celebrated in haste. A devotee might have taken a vow to perform a Garudōtsavam. But on that particular day it might not be possible to spare the time to take Deity in street procession.

on the Vāhanam. In a case like that the Vāhanam would be placed in the pradakshinam with the Deity seated thereon, the music played with tom tom and the hārathi performed. A silver wand would during this short time be placed in the hands of the devotee who will go an even number of times round the Vāhanam in pradakshinam and the festival would be considered to have been 'fully performed. We next pass on to the Northern corridor. This one has acquired a little more importance than the others. At nearly the western end of this corridor which has an open verandah those who are religiously minded would sit down and read portions of religious books. The Madhwas will particularly be seen doing this. Standing at the edge of the corridor opposite to the north face of the Vimanam the pilgrim's attention would be drawn to the bas-relief representation of the gold gilt copper plate repose representation of Sri Venkateswara the Dhruva Mūrti, on the top portion of the Vimanam. On this side of the prakaram wall also are to be seen the most ancient inscriptions of the Chola period in full and also Sri Vira Krishna Devara Maharaya's endowments. There are a few rooms in the corridor which are occupied by the mirasi servants such as the Gammikars (cooks), the kaikālas or lighting servants and the vagapadi people (the place where panyarams are stored for purposes of issue or sale to pilgrims). There is also a room for keeping the pallaki (Palanquin) of the Deity. In another small room partitioned out of the verandah are preserved the copper plate engravings of songs in praise of Sri Venkateswara by Tallapakkam Annamāchar and his

descendants. Next to this is the Sabhai Arai which is the wardrobe of the used up clothing of the Dhruva Mūrti. Pilgrims are permitted to press this cloth to their forehead in veneration

Sri Ramanuja Shrine.

The next one is the shrine of Sri Ramanuja, the great Sri Vaishnava Acharya. The history of this shrine will be given separately in this chapter. In front of the shrine and on a level with it is its Mukha mantapam. All Sri Vaishnavas worship here and receive tirtham and Sathāi. There is however no independent puja for the Acharya. A portion of all prasadam offered to Sri Venkateswara is first transmitted to this shrine to be offered to Sri Ramanuja. Also on several occasions the distribution of food offerings in goshti (i.e., according to the order of precedence) is made in this Mukha mantapam. Special honours are shown to this Acharya on certain festival occasions as he was responsible for placing the worship and other affairs of this temple on a sound working basis. No other Acharya and none of the Ālṅwārs find a place in this temple although they have been admitted into the pantheon in other temples. Ramanuja's adherence to the Pancharatra form of worship did not stand in the way of the recognition of his shrine by the Vaikhanasa archakas, who serve him every day with tirtham and prasadam

Sri Narasimhaswami Temple.

This shrine is much later in origin than that of Sri Ramanuja or of Sri Varadarajaswami. As will be seen from its position and its environs, it

is a make shift arrangement made in haste! The History of this will be given separately

There were other rooms such as the **Chandanam** room and the **Parimalam** room which have since been removed. In the former the 'grinding of the sandal paste on the sandal stone' was carried on daily by manual labour for making up the required quantity of chandanam. In the Parimalam room the articles of perfumery required for the daily abhishekam of Bhoga Srinivasa Mūrti and for the Friday abhishekam of the Dhruva Mūrti as well as punugu tailam, turmeric paste saffron paste are prepared and kept here by the Periya Jiyar who supplies the same when required. Devotees who pay for the performance of Friday abhishekam are given these articles in separate silver cups to carry round the Vimana Pradakṣiṇam and then to deliver them in the Garbhagṛhaṁ before the abhishekam commences. Of the articles of sacred Panyarams the one which is known as **Manoharam Undai** (or ball) kept in Vagaipadi room has acquired a special fame. On occasions when high dignitaries of State, Maharajas or Great men of religious fame are received by the temple authorities in Tirumalai, according to custom Manōharam, Chandanam and Sripādarenn are taken on a silver plate and given as a mark of distinction at a spot prescribed in the rules and regulations of the temple. This Manōharam is made of cleaned black gram and rice fried in ghee pounded, mixed with jaggery treacle and made into balls. Although other sweets of greater delicacy have come into vogue, Manōharam claims antiquity priority and distinction.

CHAPTER VIII.

PART (3)

THE TIRUMALAI TEMPLE—THE SANCTUM

In this part of the chapter the following subjects will be dealt with

The construction of the architecturally designed walls encompassing the old walls of the Garbha Griham and the construction and gold gilding of the Vimanam.

The demolition of the walls of the original first prakaram, the consequent mutilation of the stones bearing inscriptions, the construction of the walls of the present first prakaram and the use of the old stones bearing the mutilated inscriptions for lining the inner face of these walls

The conversion of the front portion of the pradakshinam formed by the above walls into a room called Rāmar Mēdai

The closure of the other three wings of the Pradakshinam also, from daily use The conversion of the Snapana mantapam into a safe room and the construction of a new mantapam in front of it called Trumāman mantapam

The removal of the Garuḍālvār shrine, the Dhvajastambham and Balipīṭham from their old

places to the present ones. The shrines of Sri Ranganātha, Sri Varadarāja and Sri Narasimha Swami The shrine of Sri Ramanuja.

Facts which at one time would have been common knowledge have long since been forgotten. So also circumstances which gave rise to certain practices have been forgotten but the practices have grown into usages which are now considered inviolable. Even silly ones which violate the dignity of man became sacerdotal. As an example of the latter the difficulty which the poor pilgrim always had to face for worshipping Sri Vēṅkatēswara in His temple may be cited. Even the Finance Minister of the Nizam of Hyderabad, Rajah Raghottama Rao had to seek the help of Lord Olive to obtain the privileges of darsan due to his rank. He left a message to Lord Olive suggesting ways in which the hard lot of the poor worshipper could be bettered. In those days and even till 1933 A.D. the crowd was so unmanageable and the difficulties were so many that the servants in the temple whose duty it was to maintain order within the Sanctum, got into the habit of using freely a deer skin thong on the back and even the head of the worshipper. The scene became so common that the worshipper soon attached to that blow a certain sanctity. He who did not receive that blow was considered to have been left unnoticed by Sri Vēṅkatēswara. People courted the blow. Next came on the scene the policeman and the boy scouts. Till 1876 A.D, the

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policeman was an unwelcome figure on the Hill. He now dominates the inner-most precincts of the temple with his uniform, and head dress. The āgamas proclaim curses on the man who goes into the Temple with the upper part of his body covered with clothing. These are days when we seek the policeman and not our acharyas to help us in our devotional visits. Who enters the Sanctum now without a shirt on? In Tirupati itself there is a Gangamma temple—a sacerdotal importance attached to the pujari of the Kshudra Dēvata—who during the days of the annual jatra goes through the streets with a broomstick and a dust pan (చీపురు, పాత.) Morning and evening women can be seen waiting with their young children for this priest to pass by and to hit the head of the children with his dust pan and the broomstick. This act is supposed to bestow on the recipient immunity from visitation by evil spirits and illnesses. So much importance is not attached even to the Sri Sathāri of Sri Venkateswara.

The real shape and size of the temple in Tirumalai have remained a secret or a riddle. There are practices, rather usages in relation to the structures which no one can question and not even enquire into. Some of these will be described in this chapter for the first time. Even persons who are intimately and hereditarily connected with the working of the temple are not aware of these. A description of these practices has now been made possible by a

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study of the relevant inscriptions found on the walls of the temple and in the light of careful measurements of the Sanctum structures. Mathematical accuracy is not claimed for these measurements, but they are accurate enough for all practical purposes. There is really no such interval as 'off time' in the daily routine work of the temple to afford facilities for taking measurements. There are again structures which are treated as sacred and which should not be subjected to measurement. Who could stretch a tape or a piece of string to measure the height or the width and girth of the Dhruva Bēram (Mūla Mūrti) and the other Berams and appurtenances in the Sanctum? The entire structure including the Vimanam is proportioned to the size of the Dhruva Beram. The measurements taken subject to these limitations claim sufficient accuracy.

The Garbhagriham and Mukhamantapam a double structure.

For the first time we learn that the Sanctum Sanctorum, consisting of the garbhagriham and the mukhamantapam attached thereto, is a double structure. Two distinct and separate sets of walls do exist one set enclosing or gripping the other with perhaps an airspace (or antarmandalam) in between. The Vimanam was built along and in connection with the new (or outer) walls of the garbhagriham between the years 1244 and 1250 A.D. The outer faces of the walls of the old temple bore at least four ancient inscriptions in Tamil referable to years 966

A.D. to 1013 A.D. True copies of these were taken before the new walls were built to enclose the old ones. By inference we learn that the old temple had a pradakshinam and prākāram walls surrounding it, wherein twenty oil lamps were daily burning and also that those prakaram walls were, and should necessarily have been, demolished to make room for the width of space required for the construction of the new walls of the garbhagriham. In the process of demolition of the prākāram walls all old inscriptions relating to gifts and endowments made by members of the royal families of the Cholas and their feudatories and dependants got mutilated due to careless dismantling work. A new set of prākāram walls was constructed for the new temple and such of the inscribed stones as were salvaged were lined on the inner faces of these walls. The outer faces of the new walls were kept perfectly clean and clear of inscriptions except for the ancient ones which were copied out from the walls of the old temple. We learn also that the local ruler Vīra Narasiṅga Yādavarāya who probably financed the reconstruction work and who was a feudatory chief under the Pandya King Sundara Pandya and who raised himself soon to the status of a king, had himself weighed against gold and made use of that gold to make Tirumalai rival in brilliance the Suragiri of the Dēvas. This should be taken to mean that after building the Vimānam he covered it with gold gilt copper plates. His overlord Sundara Pandya placed a

gold gilt Kalasam on top of the Vimanam (about 1262 A.D.) The new first pradakshinam which was in use for some years after its construction was soon closed to the public and the front or eastern wing of it was walled up on the north and south sides converting the enclosed space into an apartment which is now called **Ramar Medai** (*ராமர் மேடை*) in front of the mukhamantapam. Two inscriptions found on the south wall go to show that this closure might have taken place sometime between 1265 and 1285 A.D. The other three sides of the pradakshinam, now known as the Mukkoti pradakshinam were also closed to the public by doors placed at the two ends which are kept locked except for two days in the year (i.e. on the mukkoṭi ēkādaśi and dvādaśi days). It is also noticed that the width of this pradakshinam is not the same on all the sides. The north wing is more than double the width on the other two sides. The pillars in the middle row of the north wing indicate that the change of width was a eleventh hour idea. A gōmukham (or narrow passage in the wall to drain off water from the garbhagriham) about nine feet in length running through the wall was built and subsequently closed as it would have been found impossible to keep it functioning.

The outer face of the south and west prakaram walls was left untouched by the engravers chisel for nearly 130 years between 1250 and 1380 A.D. and of the northern wall till 1446 A.D. In this interval several endowments made by the Vijaya

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hagar king and his feudatories and generals were inscribed in nooks and corners of the two gopuram structures and on the walls of minor temples. We have to, and shall speculate for a proper explanation of this phenomenon. There were additions made to the temple structures by **converting the old snapana mantapam into a safe room** and by the construction of a **new asthana mantapam** which went by the name of **Tirumamani mantapam** (which by the way is the name of the mythological āsthāna mantapam in Vaikunṭham or the Sri Vaishnava Heavens) These were done early in the fifteenth century. Consequently, the shrine of Garuḍa ālvār, the Dhvajastambham and the Balipīṭham appear to have been shifted from their original position to their present place. The āgama rules support this inference.

The above are the subjects which will receive attention in this part of the chapter.

The Sanctum Sanctorum—A Double Structure.

Reference is invited to the ground plan, drawn to scale, of the buildings composing the sanctum (attached hereto). The ground plan of the old temple is also marked thereon. The two are shown in different colours. Parts of the old temple which remain intact are shown in red colour. Portions which were demolished to make room for the new structures are shown hatched in red. The old prākaram walls and the pillars which supported the terrace of that pradakṣhiṇam, the old shrine of

Garuda and the original site of the Dhvajastambam and Balipiṭham are the portions shown hatched.

The 'effective thickness of the walls of the garbhagriham is found to be about seven feet two inches.' In the language of the śilpi this overall thickness is about five haṣṭhams. The inner measurement of the garbhagriham is about 12 feet nine inches square, or nine haṣṭhams (chaturasram sama vrittam) square. This is the largest size mentioned in the āgamas, and is adopted for this temple as the Dhruva Bēram is very tall. The thickness of the walls invariably depends on the proportion which the area of the inside floor space of the garbha griham bears to the area of the base of the proposed Vimānam which the walls have to carry. This proportion would vary

1 The old śilpis did not use the foot and the inch for setting out their buildings. Their measures were the daṇḍam, the haṣṭham and the māṇḍūḷam. The thickness of walls would usually be in haṣṭhams and fractions thereof such as quarter half and three quarters. Where extreme minuteness was called for they might have used an eighth also. Twenty four māṇḍūḷams made one haṣṭham. The Sanctum Sanctorum had its size determined so as to be proportionate to the size and the posture of the Dhruva Bēram (Māia Mūrti). For a Mūrti of the standing posture with no other mūrti by the side, the room will be square in size called Ekatalam or slugie plot. The dimensions of the sides would depend on the height of the Dhruva Bēram. As the haṣṭham refers to the human hand it would vary in length. It was therefore the habit of the śilpis to leave engraved on a stone slab in a safe part of the building the exact measure of the haṣṭham adopted. Such a stone does not appear to have been yet spotted in the Tirumala Temple. But from the dimensions of the garbhagriham it is clear that the haṣṭham adopted would measure about 17 inches in length

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on the quality of the stone available, the excellence of workmanship and the personal equation of the silpi. Ordinarily it would be $\frac{1}{2}$. The other proportions are between $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ and also $\frac{3}{5}$, $\frac{4}{7}$, $\frac{5}{9}$, $\frac{6}{11}$ etc.¹ The proportion $\frac{1}{3}$ would be for poor material and workmanship. The average would be $\frac{1}{2}$. For our temple the area of the base of the Vimanam (if the old temple had a Vimanam) would have been ($2 \times 12'9'' \times 12'9''$) 324 Sq. feet. Each side of the Vimanam would therefore have been 18 feet. This would give a wall thickness of $2 \frac{5}{8}$ feet or $31\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The necessary thickness would thus be less than two hasthams. The silpi might have adopted two hasthams. As the overall effective thickness of the existing wall is 7 feet 2 inches or a little over five hasthams, it is clear that there are two walls enclosing the garbha griham, the inner one being a little less than two hasthams and the outer a little more than three hasthams in thickness. Calculation shows that a thickness of four feet, or two and three quarter hasthams, would meet the requirements of safety. The overall thickness of five hasthams might have been made up of outer walls of three hasthams closely gripping the inner walls of two hasthams thickness. Or it might be that the calculated thickness was employed in both cases and an air space of about 6 inches left between the two sets of walls. This space would be called an

1. "Vimānavistāram tī chatush pancha sapta navaikadasa bhāgam kṛtvā yathākramēna ūha divi tī chatush pancha shad amsam garbha grīha vistāram "

'Antarmandalam or antarālam or void left between the two structures. The latter supposition might be the correct one judged by the language used for describing the two structures in inscription I. 88. The Tamil expression used for the old temple is Kōyil Ālvār (the saintly abode). The second structure is called Kōyilālvārku kōyil (*கோயிலாவர்க்கு கோயில்*) or the temple for the kōyilālvār. The latter is a well understood term among Śrī Vaiṣṇavas. In fact every house where puja is offered to God in some form or other would possess a wooden structure of the usual type having one room and a small mantapam in front of the same height as the room. It usually has only a flat roof. It is not improbable that the original temple in Tirumalai was of this pattern, but of a large size and in cutstone. If this assumption is correct that temple might not have had a Vimānam until the construction of the new temple took place sometime between 1244 and 1250 to 1262 A.D. The method employed for constructing a new temple did in no way adversely affect the old structure, which would have been considered very sacred because it was presumed to have been built by the *devas* themselves.

The Motive for Renovation.

There were beautiful temples built for images made and consecrated by man Mānusha pratishṭha in other places. Here was a poor temple on the most sacred Hill for a Svayam-vyakta Mūrti. The temple was attracting streams of enlightened men,

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Judged by the fact that the walls of the old temple had on its three faces four long ancient inscriptions, the surface of these walls would have been plain and devoid of any architectural features and sculptures worth mentioning. It probably had no Vimanam to boast of. The word Vimanam does not occur in our inscriptions till about 1262 A D in which year Sundara Pandya is said to have placed a goldgilt sikharam on top of it. Every other temple of fame conducting puja according to the Vaikhānasa or the Pāncharātra āgama had a garbhagriham whose architecture answered to the agamic stipulations. The Yādavarāyas were the patrons of this temple and Sri Vira Narasinga was the most famous of these, having risen from the rank of a chieftain to that of a king. He set his heart on building a temple worthy of his parton Deity and of his own importance. He and his queen were of a devout disposition and had already given away Payyindipalli village for several services in the Tirupati temple, including the construction of the big four faced car, its gold gilt kalasam etc. To the Vaikhānasa aīchakas also it meant a higher status since the new temple would make adequate provision for the installation of all or most of the Deities which according to their āgama should find representation even during the Daily puja.¹

It has to be pointed out in this connection that in those days the daily puja was a function in which

¹ What the idol and the minimum features of a Vaikhanasa temple should be are given in a separate chapter.

none but the Vaikhanasa archaka had a share. The Jeeyars came into the temple a century and half later. There was no recitation of the Tamil Prabandham at any stage of the puja, nor for that matter any where in Tirumalai. The First Ālvar for whom a shrine was erected was Tirumangai ālvār. It was erected in Tirupati in 1234 A.D. It was an independent temple for which the Tirumalai Sthānattar agreed to be trustees. Fifty years latter (about 1287 A.D.) a shrine for Nammālvār was also built at Tirupati (near Ālvār Tīrtham). Tirumoli was sung in Tamil during the Brahmotsavam in Tirupati only from the year 1259 A.D. But no such Tamil song was sung in Tirumalai. The only person who played a part in the daily puja was some member of the family of Tirumalai Nambi who recited mantrapushpam ślokas during the puja and that was in Sanskrit. Neither the Vāikṣāṇasa nor the Pāñcharātra āgama of those days countenanced the recital of the Tamil prabandham in congregational worship of the kind mentioned in Silappadhikaram as having been in vogue in Srirangam as early as 756 A.D. (உலர் குடியுஞ்சேத்தல்). The recitation of the Vedas in congregation daily or during the festivals is not mentioned in any of the early inscriptions. It was only in the first quarter of the fifteenth century that Sri Virapratapa Dēvaraya Mahārāya made arrangements for employing twenty four mahājans for this service two persons serving by turns every month. The descendants of Tirumalai Nambi and Anandalvar who were the

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āchāryapurushas of the Temple appear to have been the only Śrī Vaiṣṇavas who were associated with the Aichakas in daily worship. The renovation work of the temple would therefore have been influenced more by the notions of the Vāikhāṇasa āgama (marīchi saṁhita).

The Renovation work of the Garbhagriham.

In the inscription I.88 the old temple is called the Kōyil ālvār and the renovation work is called Kōyil or Temple. The latter was meant to serve as a temple to house the former, which even now is called Kōyilālvārs. The idea is a novel one, because there is no space left between the walls of the two, as far as we can see. Even if there be a space it is not visible. There is nothing said about the Vīmānam, whether it is a new one constructed by Vira Narasiṅga on the walls of the new Kōyil or whether there was an old one which was improved by him.¹

The old temple also had a covered corridor surrounding it on all sides, with an open or covered antarālam to permit rain water from the vīmānam or roof to flow into the drain below surrounding the

1. If measurements are taken of the base and the height of the present Vīmānam it would be easy to form a correct notion. Sentiment however makes it an act of pollution to tread upon the terrace of the pradakṣhiṇam for taking measurements. This pradakṣhiṇam is now known as the Mukṛṭi Pradakṣhiṇam and has been a closed enclosure open to the worshippers only on two days in the year as already stated. People go round and scribble on the walls of the garbhā griham also on those two days. But treading on its terrace is an act of sacrilege.

walls. These had to be demolished to make room for the foundations and walls of the new structure. A reference to the ground plan which shows the old as well as the new structures will make this clear to the reader. The old prakaram walls should have been demolished before the foundations for the new temple were laid. The inscription does not speak of the old prakaram walls nor does it state in clear terms that new prakaram walls were built. It says that certain old inscriptions which were on the walls of the old temple and true copies of which were already taken (before building the new temple walls) should be re-engraved on the outer face of the north wall of the first prakaram.¹ That there were the old prakaram walls together with pradakshinam could easily be understood from the very large number of stones showing fragmentary and incomplete inscriptions which have been built into the inner face of the walls of the new pradakshinam and also the roughly dressed bald round stone columns used in the new pradakshinam. These columns do not go well with architectural beauty and finish of the new temple walls. The inner faces of the new prakaram walls containing fragmentary inscriptions on the roughly dressed faces of the old stones present a sorry contrast to the walls of the new temple. The portion of the old temple from which these stones could have come

1 முதல் பிரகாரத்திலே வடக்கு கிசாரில் புற வாஸிலே உல வெட்டுகிறபடி

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should be the old prakaram. The new pradakshinam along with its prakaram walls is also called a temple in the inscription. “கோயிலாழ்வாராகு கோயிலுக்கு கோயில” a temple for the temple of the Koyil-ālvār. It is unusual to call the first pradakshinam a temple. A temple usually contains an image for worship. So we must presume that this new pradakshinam was designed to hold within it one or more images for worship. The design of the outer face of the new garbhagriham walls and the closure of the antaralam space in the roof of the pradakshinam support this view. A look at the plan and elevation of the south wall will show that a niche is sculptured, centrally in the body of the wall. There are similar niches on the western and northern walls also. There was (and probably still is) one on the east wall also, a little to the south of the doorway. This has been covered up by one of the thick walls subsequently formed which enclose the Rāmaī Mēdal. The space enclosed by these two bits of walls on the south and north sides formed the eastern wing of the new pradakshinam. This was however subsequently walled up. These niches form an essential feature of the design of garbhagrihams according to the Vaikhanasa as well as the Pancharatra agamas. The Vaikhanasas attach greater importance to them. In fact they would have had three more niches at corners on the south, west and north faces to instal deities in all these. It is with a view to preventing rain water from dripping upon and beating against the images that

the antaralam or open space in the terrace was closed, leaving only small openings to admit a little light.¹

North side of the Pradakshinam.

For some reason which cannot be ascertained the north wing of the new pradakshinam was made very much wider than the wings of the other sides. On all the sides one end of the roof rests on the prakaram walls. The other end is carried on stone beams resting on stone columns of circular section. As was already stated these columns and the beams have no claim to beauty and stand unfavourably by the side of the fine walls of the Sanctum. On the north side the greater width was negotiated by an intermediate row of columns. But these columns (seven in number) being shorter than those in the other row are supplemented by short lengths of outstone base similarly shaped. This leads to the suspicion that the idea of making this wing wider was an after thought and that such stones as were readily available were used.

It was also pointed out already that the construction of a Gōmukham through a wall about five feet thick was the result of hasty execution. A gōmukham which connects the interior of the garbhā griham with the pradakshinam to serve as a drain should necessarily be of small calibre but

¹ A sketch showing the ideal Valkhanasa temple is given and will be explained at length in a separate chapter on Temple worship and the Āgamas.

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can and clear of all obstruction. Probing with a piece of stick a hole nine feet in length could not be made and having little free space. Probing from the shrine which is 12' square outside could be managed only if the pradakshinā matter would not be width. Even so, clog into the garbhagriham permitted to be driven has to have been closed ultimately. So the Gōmukham seen on the north side would have been used for hold. There was really no other increasing in number during those days. The mantapam in the temple its specific purposes to snapana mantapam has serve

inam soon closed.

First Pradaksh

at this first avaranam or

We however find that built was soon closed. Two pradakshinam deliberately, face of the south wall of inscriptions on the south show that this closure would the Rāmar Mēdai go to some after 1262 A.D. when have taken place something gold gilt kalasam on top Sundara Pandya placed then in all likelihood Vira of the Vimānam and made a gold gilt copper Narasinga Yadavaraya nanam. The two inscription sheet covering to the relate to one Vijayagandha above referred to a chieftain who was one of Gopala, a Telugu Pallava just like Vira Narasinga. Sundara Pandya's adhered to him as a ruler is. The date usually assigned political life should have 1250-1285 A.D. But his

commenced much earlier. There are fragmentary inscriptions on the inner face of the Mukkotī pradakshinam walls which go to show that some of his gifts were made before the construction of the new temple and of the new prakaram walls. Of the two inscriptions which are on the south wall of the Rāmar Medai one is a complete inscription and was presumably inscribed after that wall (of the Rāmar Medai) was constructed. It extols Vijaya ganda Gopala for his charitable disposition and states that every living being was benefited by him and that every one was grateful to him. The other inscription is an incomplete one and even fragmentary. The queen of Vijaya ganda by name Devarasīyar presented cows for the perpetual lighting of three lamps in Śrī Venkateswara's temple. When an incomplete inscription of this type is seen on a new wall of a later date the inference would be that the stone was originally in some other place and was subsequently taken out and set in its present place. It would originally have been on the South wall of the new prakaram at its junction with the east wall. To form the Rāmar Medai that end would have been cut open and the stones removed in the process used for the Rāmar Medai wall. The inscribed stone might have got mutilated in the process of removal and resetting. The surmise therefore is that the Rāmar Mēdai was formed sometime between 1262 and 1285 A.D. The eastern end of the south and the north prakaram walls would thus have been opened out while walling up

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the Ramar Medai. Although the formation of the Ramar Medai blocked up the eastern wing, the other three sides of the pradakshinam were perhaps open to the public for some years. The doors and the walls which now completely seal the pradakshinam are of later date and are not in keeping with the other parts of the structure.

The intention of the builders to treat this first pradakshinam as a Kōyil for four additional Murtis was frustrated by the formation of the Rāmar Mēdai although the other three sides since remain open to the public. It could not be classed as a pradakshinam as it is incomplete having lost the eastern wing. The locking up of the passages has also a purpose and significance. It prevented the Pancharatras from making an attempt to form a chatur murti alayam by putting up Pancharatra images on the south, west and north walls of the garbhagriham.

The Closure of the Mukkoti Pradakshinam and the formation of the Room, Ramar Medai—Reasons.

The architectural features of the new temple presented scope and facilities for extending the Vaikhānasa form of worship to the maximum limit. The images on the Vinayam are all of the Vaikhānasa pantheon—Purusha, Satya, Achyuta, and Aniruddha on the first tier and those above likewise. We need not here go into it at length. Lower down on the walls of the Sanctum are provided niches wherein Satya, Achyuta, Aniruddha and Purusha

might be installed and consecrated. The pradakshinam was constructed in a manner to serve this end. The ideal Vaikhanasa temple should have nine Murtis. If Nara Narayana, Vārāham and Nārasimha were also installed in addition to Purusha Satya, Aohyuta and Aniruddha, a completely equipped Vaikhanasa temple would have been the result. The Pancharatras also favour a Pancha (five) Murti temple. Instead of Satya etc., they would prefer to instal the Vyūha avatars Sankarshana, Pradhyumna and Aniruddha and Vyūha Vasudeva. It would not stop there. Within the Garbha griham itself Brahma, Siva, Markhandeya and Bhrigu have a right to be installed according to the Vaikhanasa and Pancharatra agamas. Vikhanas Rishi himself would be placed at the second doorway. They have been and, I believe, are still having their share in the daily puja mentally. Once the installation of new deities was permitted all these would have been installed. Ganesa and Durga, would also come in. Would the followers of Sri Ramanuja and others of the Ālvār school of Bhakti have looked on these possibilities with complacence?

In this context we have to review the changes through which temple worship has been passing. The Murtis installed and the form of the worship are only concrete presentations of certain metaphysical ideas of the later Pancharatras. The primeval Being or Paran is conceived of as going through some evolutions for purposes of destruction,

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creation and sustenance. These are called Vyūha avatārs. He is credited with six gunas or characteristic divine powers for these purposes. They are the paus Gnanam, Balam ; Aisvaryam, Tejas, and Sakti, Viryam which are the essential powers required for destruction, creation and sustenance. All the six gunas are however present in each. In the conception and modes of evolution the Vaikhanasa differs from the Pancharatrin and Sri Ramanuja's Visishtadvaitam differs from both the above. It is the representation of the above mentioned Vyūha forms that creates differences between the Vaikhanasa and the Pancharatra. According to Sri Ramanuja and his commentator Sri Vedanta Desika these Vyūha forms are not avatais in prakṛita sanna like the Vibhava avatais. They are only apṛakṛita forms having specific powers of the Supreme Being to be meditated upon by Yogis for the attainment of special spiritual faculties. Then again in the actual work of creation, Brahma is said to have sprung from the navel of Vishnu and Siva or Sankara sprang from the irate forehead of Brahma. Brahma was commissioned to create this world and its living beings. His first attempt ended in a failure as the first ones he created, Sanaka etc. were pure Sātvic beings who had no desire to procreate and who straight away merged into the Supreme Being. Brahma in his mood of frustration created from his irate forehead Siva or Sankara who was full of Tamōguna. That also having failed to fullfil his purpose he created the Svayambhu Manu

who peopled this world and so on. This story is briefly told here because they were being represented in a concrete form in temples, and images installed and consecrated according to the Vaikhānasa and the Pāncharātra āgamas. We know that Poygai Munī and Pey Ālvār took delight in worshipping Śrī Vēṅkatēswara when dressed to look partly like Viṣṇu and partly like Śiva. That happened before the Image of Śrī Venkateswara came to be worshipped according to the Vaikhanasa āgama. In the normal Vaikhanasa temple the garbha griham area would be cordoned into four zones. The central one is known as Brāhmya where the flowers etc., of worship are deposited. The standing Dhruva Murti would be installed in the next zone called Daivika. In other cases a portion of the next zone called Manusham would also be taken up. The outer most zone is called Paisācham. While the Dhruva Murti is in the Daivikam, Brahma would be in the Manusham close to the wall on the right and Śiva would be in the Paisacham zone close to the wall on the left. Markhandeya and Bhrighu would be in a bending and kneeling posture close to the Dhruva Murti. The Vaikhanasas who pride in calling themselves Ādi Vaiṣṇavas conceived of this arrangement in their zeal. Śiva in particular is made to wait on Viṣṇu and is represented as a being born from Brahma and full of Tamōgunam. He would receive a Nyasa flower only after all the Vyuha Murtis and Devatas have been propitiated. Havis or food offering made to Śiva in this manner is

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considered fit to be partaken of only by menial servants. To those who can follow the details of the form of worship and who happen to be non-vaishnavites, the procedure would be provocative. But to the common run of temple goers it would mean that Brahma, Vishnu and Siva form Trimurtis of equal status. In fact, the Vaikhānasa procedure defeats its purpose. The only benefit was to the archaka who would receive more food offering in the name of each of these images. The Viśiṣṭādvaitins of the Ramanuja School would have considered this form of worship as pantheistic. They are monotheists owing allegiance to Vishnu alone. There is another objection to the introduction of the Vaikhanasa images in the temple. The ancient tradition about Tirumalai is that Brahma is every night doing puja to Śrī Venkateswara in this temple. The absurdity of setting up images of Brahma, Siva etc., and of the Vyūhas should therefore be apparent. Brahma would worship only his creator Para Vāsudēva. Śrī Ramanuja is said to have converted all the ancient temples in Southern India to the Pancharātra form of worship, because the latter quickly adapted themselves to forms suited to Śrī Ramanuja's metaphysical ideas. They abandoned the setting up of those images which irritated both friends and foes. The Vaikhānasa archakas also took to the Pancharatra form as modified by Śrī Ramanuja. In Tirumalai there was no necessity for him to interfere, because right from the commencement the worship was for one Murti only.

(Eka Murti) although the orthodox Vaikhāṇasa considered it the adhama form of worship. The Kautuka Beram (or Bhoga Srinivasa) was made and consecrated during the days of Sri Ālavandār and bears the impress of the Shāḍgunya yantram of Sri Venkatesvara or Para Vasudeva manifesting Himself on earth. There has been no other Dhruva Murti in that temple. The old temple did not display on its outer or inner face any feature which would lend itself to the installation of any other Deity. Sri Ramanuja did not therefore find any necessity to change the Vaikhanasas over to Pancha ratra. They carried on worship agreeably to his metaphysical ideas. All the flowers during nyāsam are deposited between the feet of the Dhruva Murti. Even the Bali offering is not made in detail, but all are deposited *en masse* as it were on the five Bali stones which stand between the Dhvajastambham and the Bali pitham. The possibility of Purusha, Satya etc., being installed in the renovated temple and of other images, in consequence thereof, in the garbha griham or elsewhere in the temple was shut out by closing up the front portion of the first āvaranam (pradakshinam) and therefore the place of Purusha in particular.

Whether this closure took place during the life time of Vira Narasīṅga Yadavarāya or later it is not possible to say. The complete closure of the pradakshinam might have been done with a view to screening from public view all vestiges suggestive

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of the attempt to make vital innovations in the form of worship. Vijayaganda Gōpāla (Telugu Pallava) became a frequent visitor to Tirumalai; he arranged for the feeding of pilgrims during the festivals in Tirupati and Tirumalai and so endeared himself to the Sri Vaishnavas of those days that an inscription on the south wall of the Ramar Medai (one of the two walls which effectually prevented innovation being made in the temple worship) extols him as one at whose hands every one was benefited and to whom every one felt grateful. The great protagonists of the Viśiṣṭādvaita Siddhāntam in those days were Nadādūr Ammāl and Kidāmbi Appullār of Kānchi who would undoubtedly have shaped the religious faith of Vijaya gāṇḍa Gopala. His attachment to the temple in Tirumalai at this juncture (more so after the death of Vira Narasinga) has therefore a special significance

The non-recognition of other Murtis is the basic principle of the Tirumalai temple. There are shrines for Valadarajaswami and Narasimhaswami; but separate puja is not offered to these. There are the images of Sri Rama and Sri Krishna. They share the worship offered to Sri Venkateswara. It has been the custom from the earliest times that even on the days of Sri Rama Navami, Sri Jayanti and Nṛsiṃhajayanti the special food offering is made to Sri Venkateswara and not to the concerned deity. This is the main reason for prohibiting the erection of any other temple in Tirumalai. Processions connected with festivals for alien deities or

even acharyas were not allowed. Even the Sri Varahnava Ālvārs were not given recognition in their individual capacity. But in recent years, these ancient usages and customs have been lost sight of.

The Outer Faces of the Walls of the First Prakaram.

(Vimana Pradakshinam.)

It was stated in the earlier portion of this chapter that except for the four ancient inscriptions which were re-engraved on the outer face of the north wall of the first prakāram in the year 1250 A.D. there were no new ones made for about 130 years thereafter on the south and west walls. On the north wall however it was only in 1446 A.D. (two centuries after the reengraving of the ancient ones) that the next inscription was made. This requires some comment.

Inscriptions of endowments made by very great men between the years 1250 and 1380 A.D. are found in other places in the temple and not on the walls of this prakāram. There must be some reason for avoiding the clean walls of this Vimāna Pradakshinam.¹

1 Of those made during the reign of Jajjivarman Sundara Pandya 1 one is by Vira Narasinga himself in 1262 A.D. of the grant of the village of Pādirivēṇ which is inscribed on the north base of the inner gopuram. Sundara Pandya's ratification of an old chola grant of two villages situated on the banks of the Kaveri is inscribed on the west base. The inscription which records the

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During all this period of about 120 years the walls of the first prakaram were left without a scratch of the engraver's chisel. Inscriptions were made in odd corners. Endowments mentioned in the foot note were made by great warriors who saved Hinduism and its temples from Muslim spoliation and vandalism. Emperors—Bukkaraya and

Tulakāṣhanam of Vira Narasīṅga and the use of that gold for gilding the Vimanam is on the south base. There are again a large number of inscriptions in Sanskrit Grantha characters which sing the glory and fame of Sundara Pandya. All these are recorded in some part or other of the base of the inner gopuram. Inscriptions of grant made to Mahāpiadhāmi Singayya Damaṇḍyaka of the village of Pōṅgalūr and of his endowment of the same for specific services (including a daily sandhi food offering), of another endowment by Tiruveṅkatanatha Yadavaraya himself of the years 1328, 1332 A.D. are on the outer face of the second prakāram wall to the south of the inner gopuram and two in Sri Govindarajaswami Temple, Tirupati. Inscriptions of endowments made during the reign of Sriranganatha Yādavarāya between the years 1339 and 1350 A.D. are also in other parts of the temple. (I-104, 1339 A.D.) is on the outer side of the east wall north of the inner gopuram, another I-106, 1357 A.D. on the north wall of Sri Varadarajaswami temple. I-109, 1351 A.D. which states that he built a palace for himself on the Tirumala hill is on the door jamb wall of the Padikāvili or outer gopuram. Inscriptions of endowments made by the Vijayanagar Mahānāyaka brothers, Yerramaṇḍu Paṇḍu, nayakkar and Periya Pemmu Nayakkar are also on the door jamb wall of the outer gopuram.

I 41 1362 A.D. I 45 1264 A.D.

An inscription which records the gold gilding of the Vimanam by Mahāmandalēswara Maṅgi Dēva Mahārāja (in grantha and in Kannada Script) are on the north base of the inner gopuram. The grant of a village by the Vijayanagar Emperor Bukkaraya (about 1365 A.D.) for daily sandhi offering and Brahmotsavam and gift of cows by the Vijayanagar Prince Vira Kumāra Kampanna are recorded on the outer gopuram door jamb wall.

I. 179, 180, 1357 A.D. I. 178. I 161, 1268 A.D.

Sundara Pandya the Yadavaraya rulers Mangi dēva Maharājah Vira Kumāra Kempanna and the Mahānāyakkar brothers visited Tirumalai worshipped Sri Venkatesvara and made their endowments as thanksgiving offerings for the success they achieved against the Muslims. What made them refrain from having their endowments inscribed in the most conspicuous place which should have been staring before them as blank surface? We are left to speculate on this.

Why were the walls of the Vimana Pradakshinam left bare for more than a century?

We may take it for certain that Vira Narsinga Yadavaraya would not have felt proud of the temple he built in spite of the fact that he had the Vīmānam covered with gold gilt plates and that Sundara Pandya placed a gold gilt kalasam on top. The use of the old rough-chiselled stone columns in the new pradakshinam bears testimony to this view. He would have been smitten with remorse at the sight of the mutilated stones bearing fragmentary inscriptions lining every side of the inner prakāram. He would also have been told though at a very late hour that the smothering of the old temple was uncalled for and that the architectural features of the new temple were not in keeping with the Eka Murti tradition of the place. He might himself have had the pradakshinam closed and Ramar Medai built in his lifetime itself.

OUTER FACES OF WALLS OF THE FIRST PRAKARAM

But what followed after his death would have weighed considerably with those who visited the temple and made endowments in later years. It is not known who succeeded him as king, for he assumed the emblems of royalty and had his tularōhanam. The use of that gold to gild the Vimanam of Sri Venkatesvara would not have been considered by the wise men of those days as appropriate use. Service to God should be in a spirit of true humility. Tularōhanam in connection with his assuming the emblems of royalty was quite the opposite in spirit. The fact that no one worthy of the name succeeded him and that between 1264 and about 1320 A.D. there was a sort of interregnum in his domain, would have been pointed to as a sign of divine displeasure. It was only about the year 1320 A.D. that we hear of Tiruvenkatanātha Yādavaiyaya as ruler of the country. He perhaps assumed that name in the spirit that he governed in the name of that God.

South India itself was in a perilous state. Sundara Pandya's conquests up to the river Krishna and the gold gilt Kalasam which he placed over the Vimanams in the temples in Tirumalai, Kānchi, Chidambaram and Srirangam did not secure peace to the country. He seems to have had troubles nearer home. Historians tell us that subkings had to be appointed to appease his kith and kin. Jatāvarman Vīra Pandya became sub-king in 1253 A.D. In 1268 A.D. Maravaiman Kulasēkhara succeeded as Emperor. Jatāvaima Sundara Pandya II was made sub-king in 1276 A.D. Māavarman

Vikrama Pandya II in 1283, Jatavarman Sri Vallabha in 1291 A.D., Vira Pandya II in 1296 A.D. and Jatavarman Sundara Pandya III in 1303 A.D. Māravarman Kulasekhara the Emperor was murdered in 1310-11 A.D. That was the signal for a civil war between Sundara Pandya III and Vira Pandya II. Muslim help was sought by one of these and the invasion of the south by Malik Kafur was the result. These events would have had their repercussion in Tondaimandalam also. Tirumalai at any rate seems to have been a no man's land at the end of the thirteenth century. In between 1264 and 1329 A.D. there is a solitary Inscription dated *cyolo* year *Kilaka* and *Saka* 1230 (1308 A.D.) I 98 which is recorded on the north wall of Sri Andal's shrine in Tirupati. This endowment makes provision for the feeding of devotees resorting to the temple on certain special festival occasions. Inscriptions were being invariably dated citing the regnal year of the local ruler or his overlord. In this instance there is no reference to the name of the ruler and the regnal year. For a similar situation we have to go back to the Saka year 824 (971 A.D.) That was a period when the Pallava rule had broken down and the Chola rule had not effectively taken its place. The Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanoor acted on their own responsibility in expending the nett proceeds of taxes for the upkeep of the temple and the Saka year is cited. After a lapse of nearly 400 years there is now a similar situation. The Pandyan rule had broken down

OUTER FACES OF WALLS OF THE FIRST PRAKARAM

although it was least felt in Tirumalai. There was no local ruler whose name and regnal year the donors of the endowment could cite. The cyclic cum Saka year was therefore cited. The citation of the regnal year is again reverted to from 1328 A.D. to the closing days of Sīṃanganātha Yadavaraya in 1360 A.D. All the misfortunes to the country would naturally have been attributed to Vīra Narasiṅga's impropriety in closing up the old temple and in erecting a new one which pointed to innovations in temple worship. Even in our days we find ignorant people attributing the failure of rains and consequent famine to the so called sins of the Congress Government.

The Muslim invasions would have been considered a sign of divine wrath. If Malik Kafur had marched down by the Dāmalcheruvu or the Kālahastī route, Tirumalai with its new gold gilt Vīmanam and Sīkharam would have afforded him the first good booty. But he selected the western route. That choice would have been attributed to the Will or the Sankalpam of Śrī Venkateswara. The Hoysāla king Vīra Ballāla was one of the first sufferers as his capital was ransacked. But he soon made peace in 1313 A.D. with the Delhi Emperor Allāuddīn Kīlījī by becoming his vassal. Malik Kafur plundered other temples in the South and had to return to Delhi. Mubarak who became Emperor in Delhi sent in 1316 A.D. another invasion and Dēvagiri was annexed to his empire. Vīra Ballāla therefore

took the necessary precautions to meet a further attack on him

The mountain passes in the Tirupati hills had to be protected. He did this by sending his Minister and Commander Mahapradhani Singayya Dannayaka to Tirupati to be an ally and military protector to the local ruler (I 102, 99) From the language used in the inscription of his endowments we find that he was a highly cultured Sri Vaishnava. He therefore sought Divine help by inducing Tiruvenkatanatha Yadavaraya, the local ruler, to grant a village from the income of which a daily food offering called Sitakara ganda Sandhi was instituted for the first time (I 99 1328) The Yadavaraya himself made another endowment for a similar sandhi offering for the merit of his forebear Yadava Narayana (I. 100 1332 A.D) But both were careful to avoid making the inscription on the walls of the first Prakaram whose faulty construction wrought havoc The inscriptions were therefore made on the second prakaram wall and in Tirupati

As a result of the Muslim invasion the Utsava Beram of Sri Ranganatha Swami of Srirangam was carried by a circuitous route to Tirumalai for safety Here the idol was receiving separate worship till about 1360 A.D when it was reconveyed to Srirangam on the annihilation of the muslim suitānate of Madura Sri Vedanta Desika (one of our great ācharyas of those days) composed his

OUTER FACES OF WALLS OF THE FIRST PRAKARAM

Dayāsatakam in praise of Sri Venkateswara during the period of invasion and his Abhītiṣṭhavam before Sri Ranganatha in Srīrangam after the down fall of the Sultanate. A confederation of the Hindu rulers under the leadership of Vira Kumara Kempanna the Vijayanagar prince, brought success to the Hindus. The names of all the great men connected with the struggle and the endowments made by them as thanks-giving were mentioned above. The still blank walls of the first prakaram could have been pointed to as the mysterious cause of all troubles or as one too sacred to be touched by the engraver's chisel. It is also possible that none of these entered the first pradakṣhiṇam as it would have been kept closed.

The Spell Broken after 1360 A.D.

The spell was however broken after 1360 A.D. Sri Ranganatha the last of the Yadavarayas left no successor. As a result of the political changes in the country the Vijayanagar king became the overlord of South India. Mangidēva Mahārāya seems to have been appointed Viceroy of Tondaimaṇḍalam. **A new set of Sthanattar** or trustees **came into existence** for the management of the Temple. They were natives of Tirupati and knew that there could be nothing wrong with the walls at any rate.

Alagappiranar Tirukkalikanri dasar who was the leader (or Mudaliar) among the Sri Vaishnavas of Tirupati was the first to have his endowment

inscribed on the south wall of the prakaram in 1380 A.D (I. 184, 1380 A D) This was followed by Mulla Tiruvenkata Jiyar in 1390 A D since he then rose into importance having become the 'kartar or manager of the Arisanālayam Nandavanam and matham and also one of the Sthanattar of the temple' Then followed other inscriptions But the north wall was still left untouched till 1446 A.D in which year Periya Mallayadēva Mahārāja had his endowments inscribed by the side of the ancient inscriptions of the Chola period The famous Saluva Narasimharaya also left some of his inscriptions on the north wall But Sri Virapratapa Vira Krishna deva Maharaya made the greatest use of the north wall even by extending its length (and encroaching into the width of the Vimanapradakshina.) The great gifts made by him and his two queens are inscribed on the north wall and some are also on the south wall The outer and the inner faces of these walls contain valuable information commencing from about 900 A.D to the end of the 16th century and some are of even later date The careful protection of these from the destructive effects of sun and rain is a matter worthy of attention

The Snapana Mantapam

THIS is now a dark room which we enter after crossing the Bangāru Vakili or the golden doorway of the temple It is being used more as a safe room and not as snapana mantapam for performing special Abhishekam on certain calendar days It

SNAPANA MANTAPAM

is no longer a mantapam. The four cut stones pillars standing in the centre of the room are the only vestiges of the mantapam. Even these pillars do not appear to be the original ones. The old pillars set up about 960 A.D. would have been of circular section. What we now see are square in section, a pattern common during the Hoysala and Vijayanagar periods.

It was in this place, then known as Tīruvīḷan-kōyīl, that the silver Mūrti (Bhōga Srinivasa) received His abhishekam and consecration in 966 A.D. The western wall and the doorway into the Rāmar Mēdai would have been constructed (or reconstructed in its present shape) along with the new temple and prakaram walls. The other three sides would have been kept open as that was the only mantapam available for commencing celebration of festivals and the abhishekam known as snapana tiruman-janam. It was however soon realised that this mantapam should be converted into a strong room for keeping the costly articles and jewels of the temple in safety. From a study of the dates of inscriptions now found on its walls (south, east and north walls) it is inferred that when, or just before, the construction of the present Mukha mantapam (or āsthāna mantapam or Tirumāni mantapam as it was then called) this snapana mantapam was converted into a strong room in the early years of the fifteenth century A.D.¹

¹ This inference is drawn on a reading of the following inscriptions. On the east wall in which is the Bangāru Vākī and to the south of that door way and behind the twin bells, there is an

The doorway in the east wall is now known as Bangāru Vākili (Golden gate) The old circular section pillars in the centre were replaced by those of the square section. The alterations made are shown on the plan which exhibits the original as well as the remodelled condition of the building

This room would have certainly served as a safe room ever since a new department under the name Por Bhandāram was created about the end of the fifteenth century From an article appearing in the Asiatic Journal for 1831 A.D it appears as if the gangalam and koppara into which votive offerings are deposited by the pilgrims were kept in this room in direct view of Sri Venkateswara

inscription in Tamil dated Wednesday Bahula 12. Mīra Month Avittam nak. of Sarvadhārī year (along with a short statement in grantha sanskrit) that one Mādhava Dāsar renewed an old river channel and that from the increased yield thus obtained a daily food offering of one sirupponakam should be made. On the door jamb wall of the Bangaru Vakili it also is an inscription in Kanarese script dated Monday sukla dasami Mārgasīra month of Saumya year saka 1361 which records a magnificent endowment made by Sri Maharājadhīrāja Raja Paramēswara Sri Vīraratnāja Dēvarāja Mahārāja, the Vijayanagar Emperor Another inscription in sanskrit (Grantha) on the north wall records the gift of a gold paṭṭam (Kīrēṭam) to Sri Venkateswara by Śrīgīrēśvara the son of Vīranna Dēvarāja on Saturday sukla dasami of Śuklādha month in the year Sādhārana, saka 1352 As against the above there is an inscription on the wall of the record room near the Lagasala which states that the Tirumāmaṇi mantapam was completed by Mallanna (Mādhava Dāsar) in the year 1417 The inference therefore is that the walls around the snapan mantapam are of dates later than 1430)

Saka 1330 I 194 195 IS 3-149 A.D

I. 192 6-12 1429 A.D

I. 193 I 7 1430.

TIRUMAMANI MANTAPAM

The Tirumamani Mantapam.

This is the open mantapam or pavilion standing on 16 stone pillars. It is now called Mukha Mantapam and serves the purpose of an Āsthāna Mantapam also. It measures about 43 feet by 40 feet and is divided by the pillars into three aisles. At the eastern end of the central aisle is the shrine of Garuda. The Dvārapālas (or Divine gate keepers) are on either side of the Bangārī Vākili at the western end of this aisle. While the side aisles are being used for other purposes the central one is left unoccupied and is used for certain daily and other functions and for distinguished pilgrims to stand or rest for a while. It is in this portion and in front of the door way that early in the morning every day Bhaktas recite and sing songs called **Suprabhatam** in praise of the Lord as if to wake Him up from sleep. This is done during the interval taken by the archakas etc., to transfer Bhoga Srinivasa from the swing cot on which He was reposing to His place in the garbha griham, to trim the lights, etc. It is in the central quadrangle of this mantapam that the idol known as **Koluvu Srinivasa** (the Bali Beram) holds His dubar after the morning puja known as Tomala seva of Sri Venkateswara is finished; the day's panchagam or calendrical details are read, the daily rice ration called **Matra-danam** is given over to the archaka and a preparation of fried gingelly seeds, powdered dry ginger and country sugar is offered to the Deity and

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distributed to those assembled, On the afternoon of the commencement of the annual Brahmotsavam, the utsava murti Sri Malayappan with the two Nāchchimars are decorated and seated here in a Tiruchohi. Those who have made the prescribed payment for the celebration of the Brahmotsavam are invested on the wrist of the right hand with the Kankanam (the saffron coloured string) in the usual ritualistic manner and receive the silver wand which they later carry in procession with the Deity. In the old days when there was no Kalyana Mantapam the Utsava Murthi was accommodated here night and day for a long period, from the day of commencement of the festival to the day of celebration of the Dipavali festival. The same was done for about 22 or 23 days during the Adhyayanōtsavam in the month of Mārgali. On the night of Sri Jayanti the Abhishekam for Sri Krishna takes place in the central quadrangle and simultaneously an abhishekam and twelve ārādhanams (Dvadasa āradhanam) are done for Ugra Srinivasa (Or Venkatatturavar) at the eastern end near Garudāvar's shrine. The latter is an anomalous apology for the Dvadasārādhanam (12 āradhanams) which He should have received on the 10th day of the annual festival. This mantapam (its central aisle) is also used for heaping on the floor an enormous quantity of cooked rice and condiments so that Bhoga Srinivasa Murti might be brought over to the Bangaru Vakili for accepting the food offering called Tiruppavadal. The poor from the adjoining villages gather by previous

TIRUMAMANI MANTAPAM

intimation and take away all that food. God does the poor feeding off and on in Tirumalai. It is a very costly festival. A special abhishēkam festival known as **Sahasra Kalasabhishekam** (1008 vessels of water are consecrated with appropriate rituals) is held in this central aisle. Sri Malayappan with Nachchimar, Bhoga Srinivasa and Vishvaksēna are brought over here for receiving the abhishekam. Devotees pay heavy sums for this. On the night of the **Sattumurai of Sri Ramanuja's** twelve days festival he is given here a grand reception by the Utsava Murti. The **reading of the Kausika Puranam and other Puranams** take place here in āsthānam. The four principal āsthānams or durbars on the occasion of the Yugādi, Anivarai (Dakshināyana Punyakālam), the Dīpavali and the Makara sankramanam or Sankranti also take place here. The **Anivarai asthanam** is a particularly impressive function when the drama of observing an old tradition is annually enacted. All the principal officers of the temple (hereditary and otherwise) deposit there ensignia of office at the feet of Sri Malayappan and are reinvested because they have been found fit to continue in office. It is again in this mantapam that the marriage festival of Sri Venkateswara known as **kalyanotsavam** used to be celebrated before the kalyanamantapam was constructed.

It is in the northern aisle of the mantapam that the daily financial transactions of the temple take place. In its west quadrangle is placed a long

gangālam (large brass vessel) covered with a long canvass spout and guarded by peons. All votive offerings are deposited in this vessel called **koppara**. They range from hairs removed from the head of men and women to diamond necklaces, ear rings, kammals, gold bangles set with precious stones, bundles of currency notes, gold, silver and copper coins of all denominations current and uncurrent. It is sometimes a moving sight to see ladies removing all the valuable ornaments they wear so dearly and wrap them in an yellow cloth and drop the bundle into this koppara, then worship the koppara, circumambulate it and go away contentedly. Even those who have not taken a vow deposit at least a rupee or some coin into this koppara.

In the next compartment the chief officer of the templo called **Parapatyadar** is seated in direct view of the koppara. The contents are emptied every afternoon soon after the second bell or **naivedyam** and the sorting and counting take place openly in the presence of all assembled. This is called **parakamani**. Some of the respectable visitors are invited to witness the scene and to attest after the counting and sorting is completed and entered in the books by the **parapatyadar**. Tickets are issued by accountants and shroffs sitting in the next compartment for moneys received for admission to the various **ārjitham darsans**.

At the western end of the southern aisle hang the twin bells which keep ringing with their deafen

SRI NARASIMHA SWAMI SHRINE

ing noise for well nigh an hour when Sri Venkatesa is presumed to be going through the **naivedyam** or the Divine dinner of all the food offerings prepared. All the doors of the sanctum remain closed during this interval, the archakas alone having the privilege to remain inside. In other temples a pair of hand bells serve the purpose as perhaps the quantity of food offered is small.

Lastly it is through this mantapam that the poor pilgrim approaches the sanctum in a **queue** during the short period set apart for dharma darsanam. The soul of the donor of this mantapam Mallanna is surely dancing round the mantapam every day in ecstasy while the soul of Samavaḥ has become one with Bhoga Srinivasa in the garbhagriham itself, another Andal of this yuga.

Sri Narasimha Swami Shrine.

This Deity is known by two other names in our inscriptions, viz, Alagiyasingar (the beautiful lion) and Venkaṭattari (lion of Venkaṭa). The shrine was constructed in haste perhaps during the years 1330 to 1360 owing to the fear of desecration of Hindu Idols by the muslim iconoclasts, and meant either for the Deity in Shōḷangipuram or the one in Ahōbīlam. But it does not appear to have served that purpose. The archakas have a special attachment to Narasimha and Varahaswami as they go to make up the Nava Murtis of their āgama. Narasimhaswami is also the patron Deity of the Ahōbīla matham, also called the Van Saṭhakōpan Matham,

In 1469 A.D. Kandadan Rāmānuja Iyyangar made the first endowment for a food offering of one Tiruvōlakkam to this Deity on the Panguni Amavasya and Vasanta Pournimi days. This might have been to appease the archakas and bring them round to accept his next move to celebrate Adhyayanōtsavam in Sri Rāmānuja's temple in 1476 A.D. In 1493 A.D. one Dattirāja Timmayya of Konakonṭa who was a disciple of Sri Van Saṭhakōpa Jlyyar made an endowment for food offerings during the 30 days of Tiruppalli eḷuchchi and for offering aṭirasappadi on each of the days of Sri Jayanti Vasanta Pournimi, Sri Rama Navami and the seventh festival day of each Brahmōtsavam of Sri Venkateswara. The food offerings would be made to Sri Venkateswara only in honour of Narasimhaswami. He made over to his ācharya the donors share of the prasādams. Again two of the accountants of the Tirumalai Temple made an endowment for food offerings in connection with the reading of the Kausika Puranam on the Utthana Dvādasi day. There is separate provision in this endowment for food offerings in the name of Sri Narasimhaswami, Ponmeynda perumal (or Varadarāja) and Varahaperumal.

The Shrine of Sri Rāmānuja in Tirumalai

This shrine abuts on the north wall of the second prakaram and the vimana pradakṣhiṇam

IL. 83, 39 23-2 1469

IL. 101, 15-6-1463.

IL. 112, 9-2-1464.

SRI RAMANUJA'S SHRINES, TIRUPATI

separates it from the Tirumāmami mantapam. In size it is about 15' × 12' with a mukhamantapam 20 ft long. The shrine is in fact a portion of the north corridor abutting on the prakaram wall. It could not therefore be assigned a date prior to the construction of the prakaram wall, which, as was already discussed, could be assigned to the second quarter of the fifteenth century. Sri Vaishnavas would not however subscribe to the belief that the shrine was constructed about that time. Certain inscriptions, traditions and considerations arising therefrom will be placed before the readers. They may draw their own conclusion.

There are three shrines of Sri Ramanuja; one in Tirupati, one on the way to Tirumalai at a place called mulangal murripan (or mōkalla meṭṭu at the summit of that hill) and the third in the Tirumalai temple. Although we are for the moment concerned with the one in the Tirumalai temple it is necessary to refer to the shrine in Tirupati also because a near enough date can be assigned for it.

Sri Ramanuja's Shrine in Tirupati.

An inscription (I-89) on the west and the south bases of Sri Ramanuja's temple in Tirupati states that in the month of āvani of the Vikrama (cyclic) year (𑀅𑀲 is wrongly put for 𑀅𑀲 in the inscription), the fifteenth regnal year of Vira Narasiṅga Yādavaraya, certain Sri Vaishnavas made an endowment (dharmam) for the lighting and the supply of flowers for the Emperumānār shrine,

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This year corresponds to 1220 A.D. A later inscription in the third regnal year of Sri Ranganatha Yādavaraya shows that the shrine owned some lands which were overgrown with shrubs and that water supply was made available for its cultivation (and reclamation) from the Periya ēri (big tank) in Tirupati¹. This inscription is in a niche on the right side below the inner gōpuram in Tirupati. A third inscription² in the left wall in the front mantapam of Sri Ramanuja's shrine in Tirupati shows that it had its own corpus for which one Yatiraja jyyar was the 'kartar' (or manager) and that Udayavar Emperumanar's annual festival was being celebrated in the month of Chittirai. The endowment was made in connection with that festival by one Anṇan Tiruvēnkaṭayyan. There is a fourth endowment³ dated 20th October 1475 (inscribed on the east wall of the front mantapam of that shrine by Mudaliyar Sathagōpadāsar Naraśimharāya Mudaliyar (one of the chief Sri Vaishnavas or Mudaliyars of Tirupati) in connection with Sri Ramanuja's Sāttumurai during the chittirai festival. On the 9th of May, 1476 another endowment⁴ was made by the same donor in the name of Kandāḍai Rāmanuja Ayvangaṛ for offering a daily Tiruppōnakam etc., in the Tirupati Shrine.

Sri Ramanuja's Shrine in Tirumalai

Sathagopadasar Naraśimharayar also made an endowment for food offerings to be made on various other occasions and for different purposes in Tiru

1. L. 103 133 A.D.

3. IL. 63

2. II. 57 97 1475 A.D.

4. II. 67

SRI RAMANUJA'S SHRINE, TIRUMALAI

malai The inscription relating to this is one of the key inscriptions in the Tirumalai temple. It is placed on the south wall of the second prakaram. It makes provision for offering daily one Tirupponakam to **Sri Raghunatha (Sri Rama)** in the Tirumalai Temple. It is the first time that the existence of this Deity in Tirumalai temple is mentioned. It is also the first time that the shrine of Sri Ramanuja and the celebration of an Adhyayana utsavam in front of his shrine for 12 days in the month of Chittirai are mentioned. There is a further provision therein of 11 **tiruvolakkam** for the celebration of his monthly birth star in the other months of the year. There is also provision for the celebration of the annual birth star (**āttai tirunakshatnam**) of all the 12 Ālvārs by having their respective works recited in front of Ramanuja's Shrine. The inscription shows that the Non-brahmin Sāttāda Sri Vaishnavas also recited the prabhandams along with the Sāttina or Brahmin Sri Vaishnavas in front of the Udayavai shrine during the 12 day festival for Udayavar in the Chittirai month. Kandāda Ramanuja Ayyangar was responsible for this innovation. We have shown that there are references to Sri Ramanuja's shrine in Tirupati from 1220 A.D. onwards, but for the shrine in Tirumalai the earliest one is of the 1476 A.D. The shrine abuts on the prakaram wall which obviously came into existence in the second quarter of the fifteenth century A.D. The inscription does not say that Sathagōpadasar constructed the Tirumalai Rama-

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nuja's shrine (as he did Raghunatha's temple in Tirupati in 1481)

There is a tradition that the shrines of Sri Ramanuja in Tirumalai and Tirupati were constructed more or less simultaneously soon after the death of Sri Ramanuja. The guruparampara account says that a shrine was constructed in Srirangam (Koil) by Thirukkurukaippiran pillān the gnanaputra of Sri Ramanuja that Mudaliyāndan (another disciple) constructed the shrine in Sriperumbūdūr, the birth place of Sri Ramanuja that Kidāmbi Āchchān, Nallan and some others constructed a shrine in Tirunarāyanapuram and installed Ālvārs also there, that Nadādūr ālvar installed Sri Ramanuja's idol in Kāncīpuram and that Pillai Tirumalai Nambi installed one in Keelai Tirupati, a second at the spot now called Dōvabhashyakar Sannidhi where Tirumalai prasādanis of Tiruvēngadamudaiyān were presented to him on the occasion of his glorious visit and the third in the Sannidhi of Tiruvēngadamudaiyān. Apart from this tradition and account we know that Anandālvān and his son were devoted disciples of Sri Ramanuja. The grand-son viz, Ānandālvān Venkaṭatturāivan has left an inscription (which stands as an incomplete one) on the north base of the first gopuram in the Tirumalai temple. It reads translated into English (I 172.)

—In the margaḷi month of—year (—மார்ச்சு

மரீச்சுரி மரையா)

—taḷvan's grand son (—தரவண குரகன)

SRI RAMANUJA'S SHRINE, TIRUMALAI

- offered for kind acceptance (—உகந்தருளப்
பண்ணி —)
for amudupadi, sattuppadi (—நீடு அமுதுபடி.
சாதுபபடி).¹

There are two other inscriptions in a similar incomplete condition which only go to show that Anandālvāi Venkatathūmaivar took a pledge to carry on the Tirunandavanam (or flower garden) and some other dharmam of Sri Ramanuja. This pledge might have been given to his father when he was in his old age or about to die.

There is nothing in these inscriptions which could be construed as stating that there was a shrine for Sri Ramanuja in Tirumalai on that date which may be about 1170 or 1180 A D. Inscription I-12 only shows that amudupadi and sattuppadi were meant for some (Deity) in the month of margali when the inscription was made. It might well have been for Sri Venkateswara's temple for dhanurmāsa food offering.

1 The Devasthavam epigraphist translates உகந்தருளப்பண்ணி as "having installed". The word உகந்து does not mean 'installed'. It means only making one to be pleased or be agreeable to do something.

2 I 171.—வரையும் என உடையவர். (to the end of my life)
as my Udayavar

—ய யஉ-ஃர ஆக நடந்தககடவேன் (as Emperumānār
Dharmam I shall carry on

—அனந்தாழ்வான் வெங்கடத்து (Anandalvan Venkatattu)
(வரையும் may stand for என உயிர் உள்ளவரையும்)
(ய for எம்பெருமானாருடைய)

The Tirumalai temple in those days had not sufficient resources to carry on the daily Nīmandam (puja including food offering) and the sthānattar represented the matter to Tirukkālattidēva Yādava rāya when he was camping in Avilāh near Tirupati in his 19th regnal year (1209 A.D.) He then granted with libations of water all the nanjai and punjai lands situated within the four boundaries of Kudavūr together with all taxes, etc. for the nīmandam. So at the time Venkaṭatturaivar made his inscriptions the temple stood in need of amudupadi and sāttuppadī. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Sri Ramanuja himself would have asked that amudupadī and sāttupadī should be supplied by his disciples regularly to the temple of Sri Venkateswar. There was no likelihood of a shrine having been erected for Sri Ramanuja at that time. The tradition however is that his images were installed simultaneously in Tirupati and in Tirumalai. In Tirupati there was one in 1220 A.D. (which was after 1209 A.D.) It is therefore not unlikely that a small shrine was built in Tirumalai also or at any rate that an idol was installed in the temple. The idol might have been subsequently shifted to the present shrine after it was built sometime before 1476 A.D. Since then attention was paid to the maintenance of the shrine. In fact it

1173 — ஒரு திருபதியில் துரைய புருஷ — Acharyapurusha in Tirupa?

—முதலான பிள்ளை வேண்டத்த—alvan pillai Venkatatti

—மலையில் திருநாதரவரத்த—on hill tira nandavaratti

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needs no maintenance We find that food offerings even when intended for Sri Ramanuja were by stipulation of the donor first offered to Tiruvengadamudaiyan and then brought to the shrine for being offered to Sri Ramanuja This has always been the procedure in Tirumalai It is inconceivable that a shrine would have been built in Tirupati when there was none in Tirumalai.

Other Relevant Considerations.

Sri Ramanuja's association with Tirumalai was intimate in many ways His mother (Bhuppirāṭṭi) was married to Kēsava Sōmayaji of Sriperumbūdūr in Tirumalai after the latter's conversion to Sri Vaishnavism by Tirumalai Nambi When Yādava-prakasa from whom Ramanuja was receiving his general education in Sanskrit in Kāñchipuram declined to give him any further instruction owing to acute differences between the pupil and the teacher in the interpretation of certain debatable texts and when Sri Ramanuja sought his mother's advice as to what he should do next she unhesitatingly advised him to follow the footsteps of his great uncle Tirumalai Nambi and carry water from the Sālai well in Kāñchi for the daily Abhishekam of Sri Varadarajaswami (சாலையககிணா திருமஞ்சன கைநீர் காயம்) It was in Tirumalai that Sri Ramanuja learnt from his uncle the several esoteric meanings of Srīmad Ramayanam When in later years he visited Tirupati and Tirumalai as the acknowledged leader of all Sri Vaishnavas, his uncle received him

with unprecedented temple honours at the spot where stands the Dōva Bhāshyakar Sannidhi on the Mōkalla parvatam or the knee breaker hill. Sri Tirumalai Nambis second son Tirukkurukaipirān Pillān was adopted by Sri Ramanuja as his gnānaputra. We are also aware of the tradition that when Saivites laid claim to the Tirumalai temple as being a saivite one it was Sri Ramanuja who came to Tirumalai to establish it as a Vishnu Shrine. In his great work Sri Bhashya the opening verse is a devout prayer to the Supreme Brahman. He equates therein Brahman with Srinivasa. His prayer in short is that Srinivasa may endow him with knowledge founded on Bhakti and not mere intellectual learning. He emphasises therein the universal tradition that Para Brahman has manifested Himself on the Tirumalai Hill as Srinivasa.¹ His association with Tirupati has been equally intimate. He installed and consecrated the idol of Sri Govindarajaswami after the same was cast away from Ohidambaram by Kūlōttunga Chola I. He formed the little village surrounding that temple which was known for a long time as Ramanuja puram. He converted Tirupati into a flourishing little town by making it incumbent on those who wished to serve in Tirumalai to become permanent residents of Tirupati.²

Knowing so much about all that was done by him for enhancing the fame of Tirumalai and

1 That sloka has since been incorporated as part of the mantrapushpam during the daily puja.

2 I 124 fragmentary inscription but intelligible

SRI RAMANUJA'S SHRINE, TIRUMALAI

Tirupati it would be a surprise to be told that no shrine was dedicated to him in Tirumalai, when there was one in Tirupati about 1200 A.D. Inscriptions are not the only evidence for this. There are inscriptions in Tirupati because 'every temple and shrine there was and had necessarily to be provided with an independent corpus for its maintenance. The temple of Sri Govindaraja, the shrines of Sri Ramanuja and Tirumangai Ālvār had each its own funds. Not so in Tirumalai. Sri Ramanuja's shrine would have been from the commencement a part and parcel of Sri Venkateswara's pantheon. There could not exist, according to ancient usage and tradition, any other independent shrine, except of course the shrine of Sri Varahaswami. There could not therefore have been independent puja for any other Deity there. The Ālvārs have not been installed there, because they do not dovetail into the Vaikhanasa Agama according to which the daily worship of Sri Venkateswara was fashioned from the days of the installation of Bhōga Srinivasa when we hear of a karmārchana for the first time. Sri Ramanuja did not consider it desirable, nor would it have been possible for him, to disturb old arrangements to which his own uncle Tirumalai Nambi was a party.

There however still remains the question how is it that none of the great bhaktas and the other great men who made endowments ever thought of associating Sri Ramanuja's name with some endow-

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ment or other and how was it that the year 1476 A.D. was singled out for the celebration of a twelve day festival in Chittirai month, for his monthly birth star days and for the recitation of the prabandham of the Ālvārs in his presence during their birth star (or Sattumurai) in Tirumalai? The obsequered history of prabandham recital during Adhyayanōtsavam in Sri Vaishnava temples, working even on the Panoharātra system, gives the reply. Serious objections were raised by worshippers of Vishnu in general who did not subscribe to the Sri Vaishnava doctrines as promulgated by Ālavandār and Ramannja to the recital of tamil songs in a temple where worship was being carried on according to rituals prescribed in the Āgama based on Vedio texts in Sanskrit. The use of tamil verses at any stage within the holy precincts of the temple was considered an act of pollution. Sri Vedanta Desika is said to have exposed the hollowness of the objections in his Satadūshanī No (65) which is said to have been composed before the invasion of the south by Malik Kafur. There was subsequently confusion caused by the muslim invasion and Sri Ranganatha was removed from Sri rangam to Tirumalai. Until all the confusion came to an end and Sri Ranganatha was taken back to Srirangam (after a brief stay in Senji) by the Vijayanagar commander Gōpanna all festivals were suspended. When shortly after 1348 A.D. the Adhyayanotsavam was resumed the same objections were again raised and Sri Vedanta Desika had again

to meet these objections in an assembly specially convened by Gōpanna. These difficulties arose in the biggest pancharātra temple at Srirangam where the recital of the Ālvārs prabandhams was in vogue before. In Tirumalai the objections to the recital of these songs would have been all the stronger as the Vaikhanasa agama does not recognise any other mantrams or slokams than those contained in the Sanskrit āgama. Nor do they recognise the Ālvārs as saints with the spark of divinity in them. Even Sri Ramanuja did not unsettle the Vaikhanasa form of worship in vogue. His uncle Tirumalai Nambi contented himself with bringing water from Akasaganga for the abhishekam and puja and with performing the mantrapushpam by reciting the *viks*, etc., and offering tulasī. According to the Vaikhanasa agama even this is the prescriptive right of the archaka. It is seen from our inscriptions that until the year 1360 A.D. the prabandham was not recited in any part of Tirumalai. In that year the first attempt was made in front of the main Gōpuram (Periya Tiruvasal or outside the temple) by reciting the Tiruvaimoli of Nammālvār during the Brahmotsavam before the Deity was taken back into the temple. The recital was not within the temple. Sri Vaishnavas who had witnessed the grandeur of the recital of the prabandhams in the Pancharatra temples of the south set their heart on initiating it in the Tirumalai temple. The first attempt was therefore made in the Udayavai Emperumanar shrine in Tirupati in the year 1475 A.D. or a short

time before that. In that year two endowments were made, one by Anpan Tiruvēkatayyan on 9 7 1475 and the other by Saṭhagōpa dāsar Narasimharāya Mndaliār on 20 10 1475 for food offerings in connection with a twelve day festival for Udayavar Emperumanar in Tirupati ending with Sāttumurai on the day of his birth star Arudra in the Chittirai month. The inscriptions do not state in clear terms that the prabandhams of the Ālvārs were sung at the time. This attempt was extended to Tirumalai in 1476 A D. The non brahmins were associated with the brahmins in the recital of the prabandhams in front of the shrine of Sri Ramanuja. The dissenters if any would have been the Vaikhanasa archakas and other Vaishnavas who did not profess the Sri Vaishnava cult. As there were other items in the endowment such as a daily food offering for Sri Raghunatha etc, and as the recital did not take place in the presence of Sri Venkatesa, the attempt proved successful. Further, just about that time, the Vaikhanasa archakas were under a cloud as one of their folk was guilty of embezzlement of temple jewels, etc. Sri Ramanuja's shrine and festival offered the most convenient venue for the attempt to introduce the tamil prabandham into the temple. In this all Sri Vaishnavas joined. Sri Vedanta Desika had established beyond a shadow of doubt that the Prabandhams were as sacred as the sanskrit Upanishads and he had published his tract called Dramidōpanishad sārām. But for this earnest desire of the Sri Vaishnavas for prabandham recital

SRI RAMANUJA'S SHRINE, TIRUMALAI

Sri Ramanuja's shrine might have continued its quiescent existence in Tirumalai. After 1500 A.D. we notice a greater recognition of Sri Ramanuja and also the Deity known as Sri Raghunatha in Tirumalai.

It may incidentally be stated that there is a general impression that Ramanujakūtam (a place where the offered prasadam is freely distributed to pilgrims) is an institution, or practice which owes its origin to Sri Ramanuja. There is no authority for this. The first time we hear of a Ramanujakutam is in the year 1450 A.D. in an inscription recording an endowment made by one Chennakēsavadāsar for making daily one food offering to Vira Narasingapperuamal in Tirupati. The donor's share was given away to those residing in the Ramanujakūtam which was his creation (தமமுடைய தாமமான ஸ்ரீனிவாஸ புரத்தில் இராமானுஜ கூடத்தில் இருக்கிற போ பெற்று போதக் கடவராகவும்)

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SRI VARAHASWAMI TEMPLE, TIRUMALAI

The Temple of Sri Varāhaswami is on the west bank and at the northwest corner of the Swami Pushkarini in Tirumalai. There is a tradition that Sri Varāhasvāmi, also known as Gnānspīrān, was the oldest Deity in Tirumalai. Although there are no inscriptions to confirm the existence of this temple before the year 1380 A.D. it is generally believed that Sri Varahaswami was the original Deity presiding over the Tirumalai Hill. According to Hindu mythology we are now (of time) in the 8th sub-division of what is called Vaivasvathamānvanāntaram of Svēta Varāha Kalpam and in Kaliyuga. Mythology also tells us that all the Vedas and Vedāngas revealed by God Himself go into hiding or oblivion on the occurrence of a Mahāpralaya, when all manifested creation is dissolved and absorbed into Him. There is then nothing but an ocean of tamas or darkness. It is in this ocean that the Vedas lie hidden. After another creation takes place God in His avatar as Sri Varāha rescues and restores to us the eternal but hidden Vedas. This is probably the reason why Sri Varāhasvami is regarded as the oldest God on the Tirumalai Hill. Mythologically Tiruvengadamudaiyan's manifestation on the Hill was only at the beginning of the Kali Yuga of Vaivasvatamānvanāntara of the Svēta Varāhakaḥ. His Archavataḥ

SRI VARAHASWAMI TEMPLE, TIRUMALAI

then usurped the seat which Adi-Varaha was occupying.

There is also another aspect to be considered. According to the Bhriguvali of the Taittiriya Upanishad the Embodied Soul passes through five stages in its spiritual evolution—Annamaya, Pranamaya, Manomaya, Vignanamaya and the Anandamaya kōsams. The pilgrim to Tirumalai approaches the Hill with his Annamaya kosa. After a bath in the waters of the Alṽār Tīrtam which is presumed to issue from the right toe of Tiruvengadamudaiyan and with faith in the teachings of Sri Nammālṽār whose shrine is near that Tīrtham he enters upon the Prānamaya stage in his ascent of the Hill. When he reaches the knee-breaking ascent he changes into the Manōmaya kosa, a period of serious searchings of the heart and the mind. Sri Ramanuja (whose shrine is there) is supposed to help him with his metaphysics of the real relationship between Prakṛiti, Jivatma and Paramatma. After reaching the Hill top and bathing in the Svāmi Pushkarinī, which is supposed to possess the virtues of all sacred waters, he gets inspiration from Gnānapirān (Sri Varāha) and true knowledge or the Vignanamaya kosa. The final stage is reached when he worships Tiruvengadamudaiyan in His Ānanda Nīlaya Vimanam. So worship of Sri Varahaswami (Vignānamaya stage) should precede worship of Tiruvengadamudaiyan with the Ānandamaya kōsam. This perhaps is also what is meant

when it is stated that Tiruvengadamudaiyan usurped Varahaswami residence. When Ānandam takes possession of the soul there is no further need for Vignānam as such. This is perhaps the reason for the injunction that one must first worship Sri Varāhaswāmī or Gnānappiran before attempting to worship Sri Venkatesa. None of the Ālvārs however has composed verses in praise of that shrine in Tirumalai.

Tirumalai is called Varaha Kshetram. Those living around Tirupati while doing Sankalpam for all ceremonies recite 'Varāha Kshetrē, Ānanda Vimāna chchāyayām' to define the position of the place in space. But the place is not called Varaha kshetram in any of the inscriptions nor by any of the Ālvārs.

The metaphysical relationship between Gnānappiran (Varāhaswāmī) and Sri Venkatēśvara is demonstrated every day in the procedure adopted for offering Naivēdyam. A quantity of the food prepared in the kitchen of Sri Venkatesvara is sent to Sri Varahaswami temple. It is only when the bell in the latter temple strikes to signify that the prasadam has reached that temple and is ready for offering, that the bells in Sri Venkatesa's temple begin to ring and the Naivēdyam takes place simultaneously in the two temples. The Avatara Nakshatram of both the Deities is Sravanam (Ōnam) sacred to Vishnu.

SRI VARAHASWAMI TEMPLE, TIRUMALAI

The existence of a temple for Sri Varahaswami comes to notice only in 1380 A.D. In that year one Alagappiranar Tirukkalikanri dasar, the foremost Sri Vaishnava resident of Tirupati, made an endowment (I 184. 31-1-1380) of 400 panams and from the interest thereon a tiruvōlakkam food offering was made every year for Malaikuniya-ninra-perumal on the 2nd day of each of the Brahmotsavams and also one kurinī of cooked rice for each of the Deities, Periya Perumal and **Sri Varaha Nayanar**. The next reference is 96 years later, i.e., in 1476 A.D. in an endowment (II 68 2-3-1476) made by Sri Sathakopa dāsar Narasimhaiaya Mudaliar, of 5200 panams making provision for a series of food offerings to Malaikuniya ninra perumal on festival occasions. One of these items is the offering of 1 Sukhiyan padī, while Malaikuniya ninra Perumal is seated in a flower mantapam (Tiruppūmantapam) in the temple of **Gnanappiran**, (Sri Varahaswami) on the bank of the Svamipushkarinī on the 6th festival day of each of the Brahmotsavams. This is not an offering intended for Sri Varahaswami. It is worth nothing that in 1380 A.D. the Deity was called Varaha Nayinār whereas in 1476 He is named Gnanappiran which became the more popular name.

Although the temple came to notice only in 1380 and the next mention thereof was made in 1476, it will be seen from the account of endowments made since then that this temple maintained its

hold on the devotees since then till now There are however a few persons who seem to think that a temple was constructed for the Boar God with a view to making the muslims detest the Hill as the God there was represented to them as Suvar Allah.

The next reference is to an endowment (II 76 77 1481) for offering daily 2 tirupponakam to Adī Varahapperumal and 4 tirupponakam to Tiru vengadamudaiyan This was made by Saluva Timmaraya, son of Saluva Mallayadeva Maharaya. Another reference is to an endowment (III 132 133) made by Sri Kandadai Vedantacharya Doddappay yangar on 13-4 1519 for offering 40 atirasappadi during the 8 Brahmotsavams, when the Utsava Murti (Malakuniya ninra perumal) hears Tirumoli in the shrine of Gnanappiran ¹

1 The other endowments made for this Deity are—

One Venkatatirthalvar son of Malakunrar Bhattar Appayyan made (IV 138 9 11 1539) an endowment of 195 panams for making certain food offerings on festival occasions Among those offerings was one of 30 tirupponakam to Gnanappiran during the 30 days of Tiruppalli Eluchchi and one padi on the day of his father's annual birth star The donor was an archaka and as such the dharmakarta of Sri Varahaswami temple We have elsewhere noticed that a large part of the funds which constituted this endowment represented the payment made to him by Achyuta raya Maharaya on the occasion when he himself performed the archana to Sri Venkatesvara and the archaka recited only the 1008 names.

Tirupāṅkam Tirumalayyangar constructed (IV 40 1535) among other things the mantapams surrounding the prakaram walls and the east gopuram of (" *திருப்பதி கிடைக்கப்பட்ட பின்பு அந்த மண்டபம் கட்டப்பட்டது*) Sri Varaha's temple on the full moon day of Vaikāṣi of Saka 1457

SRI VARAHASWAMI TEMPLE, TIRUMALAI

In the Tasdik prepared by the East India Company about 1819 A D Sri Varahaswami temple was classed as a minor temple. It received no contribution from the encar, but depended entirely

One of the items of an endowment (IV 157 13-2 1541 of 2770 pnam) by Settalur Srinivasayan was the offering of one dosampadi to Sri Varahaswami on the day of his annual birth star (Arpisi Sravanam) குளம்பிதாசன் ஸ்ரீ ஸுவாமி ஸ்ரீகுருதிருக்கடவுள் அற்பசி திருக்கடவுள் ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ. Again one Pillappi Pillai made an endowment (IV. 165 3 8 1541) for conducting Mukkoti Dvadasi festival for 3 days commencing from Dasami. On the Tirthavari day (or dvadasi) he provided for offering 9 tirupponal am when Mulakiniya mura Perumal was seated in the shrine of Sri Varahaswami in the early morning of that day.

Kuppa Venkatattarasu (one of the accountants) made an endowment (V 5-2-1543) of 1282 pappam for the merit of his mother. The amount was to be utilised for offering of 4 tirupponakam on each Mulakoti Dvadasi day to Gnanappiran when Tiruvāli-ālvān (Sri Sudarsana) was bathing in the sacred waters of Svamipushkaram. For the same occasion but after Tiruvāli-ālvān's bath in the tank and when Malakuniya mīran, Nāchchinnār and Tiruvāli ālvān are seated in the front mantapam of Gnanappiran's temple, Illappa Pillai made an endowment for offering one nāyaka taligai. For the same Tirudvadasi day Kuppa Venkatattarasu made an endowment (V 8 5-10 1543) for offering 6 tirupponakam to Sri Varahasvami.

Attai Tirunakshatram of Sri Varahaswami was arranged to be celebrated with Tirumanjanam by Tallapakkam Tiruvenkatanathan (V 71 17-7-1546).

Sottai Tirumalai Nambi Srinivasayengar provided for offering one appapadi to Sri Varahaswami on the second day of the Adhyayanotsavam in Tirumalai in Margali month

Rajasrī Sivaraya Ramachandra Yadamatara Dabīrsa in an endowment (VI 24 19-3-1634) for daily food offerings to Śrī Venkatesa made provision for offering daily to Śrī Varahasvāmī one taligaī prasadam and one pot (gūn) of pāyasam.

on Kānukas paid by pilgrims, on ubhayams and on contribution made by the dharmakartas of the temple. Its average income and expenditure was about Rs. 250/ a year (79 pulli varāhas 12 maili and 65 kāsus)

There need be no doubt about Varahasvami temple being an ancient one in Tirumalai. Its late recognition in inscription may be explained in a manner. The temple has always been the sole concern of the archakas, who were archakas for both the temples. It might have continued to be a temple unnoticed in inscriptions made by the Sthanattar of Sri Venkatesvaras temple but for two innovations which the Sri Vaishnavas and the Sthanattar were anxious to effect and in which the Vaikhanasa had to be made to acquiesce. These were the admission of Malaikuniya ninra Perumal and Nachchimar into the sanetum and the recital of the Prabhandams of the Ālvars without a protest from the archakas. It was already pointed out that Malaikuniya ninra perumal got admission about 1339 A.D. and the recital of Tiruvaimoli in front of the (Gopura vasal) main gate of the temple took place in 1360 A.D. We consequently find that Alagappiranar Tirukkalikanri davar (one of the Sthanattar) included Sri Varaha Nayanar in his endowment for food offering in 1380 A.D.



CHAPTER VIII.

PART (4)

The **Murti Svarupam of Sri Venkatesvara**, and the complementary metallic idols (or Belams), and the Utsava or processional idols of Sri Rama and Sri Krishna which make up the Pantheon of Tirumalai

Around the Mūrti of Sri Venkatēśvara have gathered all the other idols mentioned above. The main Mūrti is apparently a stone image, but we cannot be too sure about it. The tradition is that it is not an image wrought by the hand of man and that God manifested Himself in a form which man could comprehend, being similar to his own. The material from which this form is shaped is seemingly 'lifeless matter'. But we Hindus fully believe that it is full of divine life. We worship not only this idol but similar or nearly similar ones installed in other temples. Not being content with this we get small metallic idols manufactured in gold, silver or copper, worship them at home and leave them as precious legacy to our legal heirs. It is not stone or tree worship, nor even nature worship. It is said to have Divine sanction. Divine sanction for the Archa Avatar (or Idol) worship has a mythological backing. The erection of temples and the installation of ancillary and complementary images are also copies of a mythological pattern held out to us in

the traditional account of creation and dissolution of all mundane (prākṛit) matter and its innumerable forms shapes and activities

In this chapter some idea will be conveyed of such matters and more particularly about identifying Sri Venkatesvara's Image with the Supreme Being and the rationale of idol worship in general. In all matters which we could not verify by direct observation or by reasoning with the aid of our limited senses, we place implicit faith in what the Sastras and Puranas say and in the observations and sayings of great seers and āchāryas.

Divine origin of Sri Venkatesvara Murti and divine sanction for the archa form of worship

In the yugas preceding the advent of our Kali yuga the method adopted for God realisation was the practice of penance, mental concentration and meditation known as Yōga mārga. This has its own intermediate pitfalls brought about by the acquisition of undreamt-of psychic powers and the consequent temptation to imagine oneself as being co-equal with God.¹ Our Mythology, Itihasas and

1. Nammalvar Tiruvolmoli (3 5 9)

அமரனே டய பநாந அநாதி தத் குமபிதாந
அமரனத்தா சாநதுபாதித வந்தந்ரு டெய்ரு
அநாததுணி வலகாத சாநிபாந தாடுவாந
அமரனா சஞ்சிதாடி வாதவனே சருமே.

The import of the Stanza is that "with the exception of those Yogis who while realising the Brahman within themselves dare to come to the exclusion that they are one with or co-equal to Him all others consider it the right thing to do when they deeply meditate sing praises and dance in ecstasies."

SRI KRISHNA'S END—JARA'S ARROW

Puranas abound with stories to illustrate these pit falls. The yearning to achieve God realisation by easier means has always been there in the human breast. The Divine will gave a response to this desire at the end of the Dvapara Yuga which just preceded our Yuga.

As Adharma or evil was stalking the earth in the later period of that Yuga, the Supreme Being of His own free will appeared on earth as a Man (Sri Krishna) and in a human manner brought about a colossal war which wiped out the evil elements which then threatened to destroy the human soul. Having done this Sri Krishna designed the manner of his terminating that avatār of His in an equally natural manner. In the Treta Yuga (preceding the Dvāpara Yuga) the Supreme Being had come on earth as Sri Rama to destroy evil. One of the incidents of that avatār was his shooting with a deadly arrow Vālī, the great king of the monkey race. He committed this act by hiding himself behind seven Sal trees because Vali's psychic powers were such that he drew unto himself all the powers of an enemy who faced him. Before his death he accused Sri Rama of having acted in a cowardly fashion and of being an unworthy son of the great Dasaratha. Vālī was in the eye of God entitled to a quid pro quo. So Vālī was given another birth as a hunter by name Jara. Sri Krishna having accomplished His self imposed task on earth and desiring to cast off the material body went into

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

a Yōga trance resting His body on the ground in a thick forest with the right foot placed on the left knee Jara came that way in search of game and mistook Sri Krishnn for a beast of prey Instantly he shot a deadly arrow shod with a piece of steel which was the remnant left after fulfilling a curse made by the Rishi Dhurvasa for the destruction of the Yadava race Sri Krishna was the last great figure of that race left and so offered himself for that piece of steel Jara found that he committed a huge blunder and incurred a great sin in having killed a man That man appeared to him as being unique with four hands He fell prostrate and caught hold of the feet of Sri Krishna begging pardon He was not only pardoned but freed from any future birth The above portion of the story is only a prelude to the setting in which divine sanction was given to Idol worship

Divine Sanction for Idol worship

Rishis Munis Devas and others headed by Brahma (the creator) gathered on that spot and praised Sri Krishnn for having rid the earth of all evil elements But they regretted very much that by the termination of that Avatar they were losing touch with Divinity and they being only mortals could not hope to see Him in His abode the Divya lokam or Sri Vankuntham The Divine Spirit on whose breast Sri Devi was seen seated was worshipped by all with flowers The Devas addressed Him as one who wielded the Divine bow Sarngam perhaps

because they saw in Him Sri Rama as well. The Spirit ascended the Heavens illuminating the earth and the Heavens. As it entered the Sūrya-maṇḍalan (the Sun's disc), it took a shape and form with four hands but made of lifeless stable matter. Simultaneously a voice from the Heavens (asarīṁ vākku) exhorted the Devas and the others to behold that form which was to descend, or had already descended, on earth where He would dwell for ever and which form they should worship. **This incident is taken to be the divine sanction for the worship of Idols.** Srimad Vēdānta Dēśika in his Tamil tract known as "Srimat Tatva Mātrukai" quotes Sri Bhagavan's own words then uttered, as given in Sri Mahā Bhāratam (Chapter V, Mausala Parvam), "Bhūmāu gatam pūjayatām pramēyam." It was a direction given to Brahma, the Devās, Munis, and others in response to their request, so that by doing puja and other acts of service for that form they might obtain Salvation. This sanction has been extended by our ācharyas to images manufactured and consecrated by mortals, namely the Devas, Rishis and great men. Sages subsequently framed rules for standardising the size and proportions of Idols, the material of which they should be made, the erection of temple structures and the procedure for consecration of these idols. This was done because indiscriminate and chaotic form of worship will not eventually prove beneficial. The form of the temple, the deities to be installed, their appropriate places and the manner and time of worship

are the subjects dealt with in the Āgama Samhitas. There are two Āgamas which deal with worship of Viṣṇu the Vaikhāṇasa and the Pāṇcharātra. Each claims greater antiquity and higher sanction for itself. But so far as Tirumalai is concerned neither of these Āgamas could lay claim to have manufactured or installed the Mūrti as the belief is that It is Self manifest Brahman. As some form of ritualistic worship had to be adopted the Vaikhāṇasa form was adopted in course of time. For a long time however there appears to have been no regular or standard form of worship.

Sri Venkateswara's Image is self manifest Brahman or Svayam Vyakta Murti.—

We have Sri Bhagavan's own statement in Sri Maha Bharatam that He has manifested Himself on earth to make it easy for men to do puja and render such other services as would satisfy their desire to keep close touch with the Divine form. Those who have faith in the Itihasam would have faith in this episode mentioned therein unless it is argued that the narrative or portions of it are later interpolations by interested persons. Such an objection has not yet been raised.

We next have Sri Nammālvāre assurance that 'Paran has come down to Tirumalai from His Divyalōkam for our spiritual benefit not at the request or in answer to the prayers of any one, but of His own choice. He illustrates God's solicitude for our spiritual salvation by giving two instances,

IDOL WORSHIP

[illegible]

For all now be shown
wrought by human hand

Images manufactured
worship are usually made
some metal. A couple of
the Murti concealed the
prescribed in one of the of
Agamam here prescribed
voluntary proportions of the
body - the hands etc., the
the resteller carried on a
decorated the extension of
prescribed rules are in

ch He held up a hill to
His care from the threat
heavy pelting rains and
unsolicited manner in
Maha Bali He tells us
Brahma himself daily
on this hill just as we do.¹
e Mangala Slōkam of his
" while enunciating con-
vely the nature and
Being, lays stress on His
tion of mankind (Rak-
tes that Brahman with
ra) So we believe that
ifest Brahman come to
that the Mūrti was not

) not a man-made one.

by men for purposes of
of stone, clay, wood or
mantapam) is built and
rein according to rituals
er of the Āgamas. The
in detail rules for the
idol, the posture of the
borne by it as also
body If there be any
any variation from the
would be considered

stated likewise

unsuitable for consecration and therefore rejected and even destroyed. We will examine the image of Sri Venkatesvara in the light of the rules given in the Agamas for the manufacture of an idol of that type

Types of Dhruva Murtis prescribed in the Agamas

The broad classification is into three main types. The standing, the sitting and the reposing or lying posture. Each of these is again divided into four classes depending on the physical and mental attitude of the Idol. They are Yōgam Bhōgam Vīram and Ābhichārikam. The environments and the purpose for which a Mūrti is installed decide the kind of Idol. A Yoga Mūrti would be selected if the worshippers prefer to follow Yōga Mārga. Such a Murti should be installed outside a village, in the midst of forests, on mountain and hill tops, at the confluence of rivers and on river banks. It should not be in the heart of a town or village as the Mūrti would bring about destruction of the place. A Bhōga Mūrti should invariably be installed in the heart of a town or village. A Vīra Mūrti should be on the outskirts of a village. An Ābhicharika Mūrti would be installed in forests, mountains, fortresses, at the outer limits of a Rāshtra and facing the enemy country. The Tirumalai temple is on a hill and in the midst of forests. It does not appear that at any time there was a fortress or a village there. It might perhaps have been politically the boundary line between one country and another. The kind

ĀGAMA TYPES OF DHRUVA MURTI

of image chosen would therefore be either Yoga or Ābhichārika, not even Vira Bhōga would be out of consideration.

The features of the Mūrti for each situation and type are also prescribed in the Āgamas. There are three grades of temples depending on the complementary deities. These are called Uttama, Madhyama and Adhama (Best, middling and low or mean type). In the Uttama temple the Mūrti would be associated with the complementary deities. Brahma, Sankara, Markāndeya, Bhṛigu, Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumara, etc., In the Madhyama type Markāndeya etc., would be omitted but Brahma and Śiva retained. In the lowest type Brahma and Śiva also would be omitted, leaving the Murti to stand alone. The above rule governs the installation of Yoga, Bhogā and Vira Murtis alike. In the case of an Ābhichārika Murti, however, there is only one type, the Adhama type and therefore, the principal Murti alone would be installed. Further, in the former types the temple would have Vimanams and the consecration would be on an auspicious day in sthira lagna (at any rate not in a chara lagna). For the Ābhichārika Mūrti the installation should be at an inauspicious moment and in chara lagna. The temple should not have a Vimanam.

The features of the Murtis are also prescribed in the Āgamas. Before considering the features we might as well see under which type the image of Sri Venkatesvara should be classed presuming that

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

it was the handiwork of man. Being on a hill and in a forest where there was no village or fortrees in the earliest days it should be a standing Yoga Adhama, a Standing Abhicharika or perhaps Standing Vira Adhama Murti. It is not likely to have been a Bhōgā Murti in those days. Since Sri Venkatesvara has always been the only Murti in the temple, the temple is an Adhama one. A standing Yoga murti of the Adhama type should have four hands the two upper hands should be invested with **Chakram** and **Sankham** the right lower hand should be in **Abhaya** posture while the left lower hand should assume the **Katyavalambita** posture or holding on to the loin. The presence of Sri Devi on the chest is not mentioned in the specification. But Sri Devi is on the right breast as an integral part of the image of Sri Venkatesvara and not one subsequently invested or detachable. The lower right hand is (giving boons) **Varada hastam** and not **Abhaya**. The **sankham** and **chakram** on the two upper arms are detachable and not integral with the Image. The Image could therefore not be taken for a Yoga Murti.

A standing **Abhicharika Murti** might have two or four hands, but without any of the divine weapons. The posture of the hands is not mentioned in the specification. So we might place Sri Venkatesvara's image under this type but for other disabilities. The **Abhicharika Murti** should have a shrunken chin, lean **angas** (hands, legs, body

SRI VENKATESVARA'S IMAGE, NOT OF AGAMA TYPE

should be lean). It should have upturned eyes exhibiting **Tamogunam** (evil intentions) The Image of Sri Venkatesvara is however a lovely figure having well formed and plumpy 'angas' and decorated with all the divine ornaments associated with the description of Para Vasudeva. Sri Devi is an integral part of the image. The Image could not therefore be classed as Standing Abhicharika.

Nor does it answer to the **Vira type**, because the Vira type should have Sankha and Chakra permanently. Sri Devi is not mentioned as part of the image. The posture for the lower arms is not given in the specification.

If we wish to examine for the Bhoga type also as a last attempt, the Sankham and Chakram should be permanent fixtures, Sri Devi and Bhu Devi should both be permanently on the breast. The posture of the right lower arm in the Varada Hasta position is the only satisfactory element. The lower left hand should be in the **Katyavalimbita Simha Karna posture** which is not seen in the Image of Sri Venkatesvara. The result of the examination is that the Image of Sri Venkatesvara does not fall under any one of the types which the Agamas prescribe for installing a Dhruva Murti. If the Image had been one wrought by man, it should therefore have been done in an age when the Āgamas had not been compiled.

The only description which we have not considered is that usually given of **Para Brahman or Para**

Vasudeva in the Heavens. Different Samhitas describe Him differently in His Divyalokam. A short one given in Bhrigu Samhita (33rd Adhyaya) shows that He has four hands, is invested with the five weapons or āyudhas the two halves of His body are symmetrical and beautifully shaped, that he wears all the divya ābharāṇas (jewellery), that Sri Devi ever abides in His Form and that He is full of all the Kalyana guṇas and wanting in none and that He shines with His six guṇas (Shadguṇa) This description is not a detailed one The weapons (divya āyudhas) are not in Sri Venkatesvara's hands. The mention of the Shadguṇas is worth noting. We will refer to it later The Pāṇcharatra āgamas describe Para Vasudeva in different terms, mostly as being seated on Ananta the Divine Serpent. They are all out of place for our purpose.

16
In the seventh chapter, sixth aṁśa of Vishnu purāṇam there is a description given of the Murta Rupam of Vishnu for purposes of meditation. Four stages of meditation are mentioned. In the lowest the Murti is meditated upon as having all the weapons all the bhūṣaṇams (ornaments) and with eight or four hands. In the next higher stage the meditation is upon the Mūrti, dropping out the divine weapons, in the next higher even the bhūṣaṇams or ornaments are also left out. In the next higher only the principal angas such as body, two hands etc., are presumed to be seen This

description states that the Mūrti has a 'Prasanna' (spotless and brilliant) face, beautiful eyes shaped like the petal of the lotus flower, beautiful temples, broad fore-head, Kundalams (ear ornaments hanging down the even earlobes the kanṭham (or neck) shaped like the right-handed Sankham (Chank), broad chest with Śrī Devi seated on the Śrīvatsa marks Uḍara (or belly) in three folds as it were and a deep seated naval, long hands eight or four in number, well knit and symmetrically shaped thighs, spotless pītambara clothing, with ornaments such as Kīrīṭam (crown,) Hāram (necklace) Kēyūram shoulder ornaments, Katakam etc., rings on the fingers and toes. The āyudhamś (weapons in his hands) are Saṅgam (bow) Sankham (conch), Gadā (mace), Khadgam (sword), Chakram (disc). Akṣa-mālā (garland of beads) is in the sixth hand ; of the remaining two hands one is in the Abhaya posture and the other in Varada posture. When only four hands are meditated upon Sankham, Chakram, Gada and the lotus flower adorn them. The above description in full is of the form for the lowest stage of meditation. This description does not apply to the form of Śrī Venkatesvara. In the next higher stage all the weapons are left out and the four hands would therefore be free. All the bhūṣhanams or ornaments however remain on the Mūrti. This description would apply to the Mūrti form of Śrī Venkatesvara in a general way. The lower hands have however a definite posture, the right Varada and the left Katyavalambita and

corresponds to a Mūrti for meditation in the second stage

As the Murti form of Sri Venkatesvara does not answer to the specifications given in the Agamas the Image should be taken to belong to an earlier age than that of the Agamas. Besides the description given in the Vishnupuranam what are given in other places also have to be taken into account. Soon after his birth Sri Krishna appeared before his father Vasudēva in his real form. This form is described in Vyasa's Sri Bhagavatham in the Slokam commencing with "Tam adbhutam balakam ambujekshanam". Therein he had four hands holding Sankha and the other āyudhams there were the Srivatsam marks and Kaustubham. He wore pītāmbaram he wore a brilliant kīrītam set with diamonds, kundalam etc. he wore gold waist band and other ornaments. It is the same Sri Krishna whose Divine spirit appeared in Suryaman dalam and he was then addressed by the Devas as the one who bore the bow Sarngam. If the same apparition did descend on earth on the Tirumalai hill as Sri Venkatesa, we would expect to find on the form of the Murti some traces to connect the one with the other. The Devas saw the figure in the Sun's disc from a long distance and it would not have been possible to notice any ornaments on the figure even if they existed. But the absence of weapons was

तमद्भुतं बालकमम्बुजेक्ष्य चतुर्भुजं शङ्खगार्धदायुधम् ।

भीमसत्त्वस्यं गच्छोन्मिषीस्तुम पीताम्बरं सान्द्रपद्मदसीमगम् ॥ १० ॥ ३ ॥ ९ ॥

ARCHAVATAR IN SUCCESSION TO KRISHNAVATAR

noticed, although before the spirit entered the Sun's disc the bow was distinctly seen by them. We learn from the description given in Silappadhikaram that the bow was on the Murti along with Sankham and Chakram and all the three would have been detachable ones put on the figure.¹ There are, however, on the form of Sri Venkatesvara marks on both shoulders running down from the ends of the collar bones in the direction of the arm-pit resembling scars made by the constant wearing of the bow and the pack of arrows. This scar may be taken to connect the Murti with the avatar of Sri Rama. The connection with Krishna avatar is told in the story itself. That this connection was implicitly believed in ancient days is indicated by the presence of the Utsava images of Sri Rama and Sri Krishna in the Sanctum Sanctorum itself. It is worth stating that during the Margasira month the utsava image of Sri Krishna acts as the Sayana Belam instead of Bhoga Simivasa who does so during the other eleven months of the year. The preference given to Sri Krishna during that sacred month might be to connote the connection between the Avatars of Sri Krishna and Sri Venkateswara. The arrangement of the Riks and Slokas of the mantrapushpam recited during the daily puja helps to remind us that this

1. Sri Nammālvār also stated that there is Srivatsam and Sri Devi (திருமறு and அலர்மீன மங்கை திருமாரபன்) and that Saṅgam was in his hand. This will be dealt with at length in the chapter on 'Temples worship and Ālvārs' See Tiruvaimoli (3 4-3) and (6-10. 4, 5. 10)

Archavatar¹ has a direct connection with those¹ of Sri Rama and Sri Krishna. The order of recitation¹ is (1) the opening rik of each of the four vedas (2) the Ashṭhaksharam from the Nārāyanopanishad (3) reference to the avatar of Sri Rama (4) reference to Sri Krishna avatar and the Mahābhārata war (5) Sri Krishna 'revealing his true form' to his father (6) Narayana in His Vaikunṭha lōka (7) 'all creation is the form and abode of Vishnu (8) Vishnu's advent from Vaikuntham to 'Tiruvēn' gadam (9) one of the Nammalvar's songs because he has assured us that Nārāyana has come over here (10) a sloka each from Sri Alavandar and Sri Ramanuja who have likewise assured us that Srīnī vasa and Narayana are identically one. This form of mantrapushpam is peculiar to the daily worship in Tirumalai and was obviously composed by 'Sri Tirumalai Nambi. It is very different from what the Vaikhanasa and the Pancharathra āgamas give. It is also different from what Sri Rāmāṇja has prescribed as a pattern in his Nityam¹. The only two avatars of Vishnu included in our 'Mantra-pushpam are those of Rama and Krishna. Processional idols representing these two avatars only are included in the Garbhagriham. From the earliest times the belief seems to have been that Sri Venkatesvara's image is Self manifest (Svayam Vyaktam) and has a direct link with the avatars of Sri Krishna and Sri Rama perhaps as disclosed in the account given in Mausalaparvam of Sri Maha

Bharata. The tradition¹ that Brahma worships Sri Venkatesvara every day is kept up by keeping over-night in the Garbha griham five large gold cups filled with the Akasaganga water and all the other ingredients required for a regular worship. It is this water consecrated by Brahma's worship that is distributed to the worshippers during the Visvarupaseva early in the morning.

We have necessarily given already some of the main and characteristic features of the Dhruva Bēram of Sri Venkatesvara, viz, Sri Devi on the right breast seated on Sri Vatsam, the scars on the shoulders, the free and easy posture of the two upper hands into which Chakram and Sankham have subsequently been placed, the Varada posture

1. Sri Nammāḷvār's Tiruvolmoli

என்னு னேநாம மண்ணைநந்த வீரன்ததா மரைகன் காண்பதற்கென்று
என்னு ஞமகின் திமையோர்க றோததி யிறைஞ்சி யினியினமாய்
மெய்நா மனதசாவு வழிபாடு செய்யும் திருவேங் கடத்தானே
திருவாயமொழி (6-10-6)

நோலா தாற்றே னுனபாதம காண வென்று நுண்ணுணர்வில
நீலா கண்டத் தமமானும நிறைநான் முகனு மித்திரனும்
சேலேய கண்ணா பலாருழ் விருமபும திருவேங் கடத்தானே
(6-10-8)

ஆகல இலலே னிறைநடிமென் றலா மேல் மங்கை யுற்றமர்ப்பா
நிகரில புகழா யுலகமமுன றுண்டயா பெண்ணை யாள்வானே
நிகரி லமரா முணிககணவகன விருமபும திருவேங் கடத்தானே
(6-10-10)

... .. அளவாரிய
வேதத்தான வேங்கடத்தான் விண்ணோர் முடிசோயும்
பாதத்தான்

பூதததாழ்வர் இரண்டாம் திருவந்தாதி 45

(freely giving away boons) of the lower right hand and the Kaṭyavalambita posture (holding near to the left hip) of the lower left hand. These might require a word of explanation as we have seen that the Varada posture is not associated with any of the āgama forms or the standing Murti. The palm and the fingers are quite open and point downwards, to the right foot. What that signifies is the unrestricted grant of all boons the worshipper seeks. It seems to have a bearing on the boon granted unasked to Maha Bali. Nammalvar in his ten songs about Tiruvengadam makes reference to this the Trivikrama Avatar as the one in which He measured the Earth and saved the soul of Maha Bali. Sri Alavandar also in his Stotra Ratnam makes a prayer for those feet being placed on his head. After the entire universe was measured with the right and the left foot, Trivikrama seems to point to His right foot and to ask with a smile what Bali has to offer for the remaining portion of the gift promised to Vanana. Maha Bali offered his head which was all he had to give. His promise was fulfilled, and Trivikrama gave in return, unasked by Bali, the highest gift which the Human Soul should ask for viz., absorption into His feet. The position of the fingers and particularly of the thumb of the left hand in juxta position with the hip and the thigh suggests that the bow itself or the string of the bow which He bore as Sri Rama (and which was

1. Commencing with *śrī bhāgavate*. (8-8-5)

COMPLEMENTARY IDOLS IN THE GARBHARĀMANA

placed on the Murti as stated in Silappadhikāram and in Tiruvoimoli) passed inside of the ~~body~~ to maintain a steady position. The ~~most important~~ features are the Pralamba sutram and the ~~loin string~~. The former is the sacred thread ~~and the latter the~~ and the latter the loin string ~~These distinctly show that the figure~~ is a female Deity nor a Kshudra Deity. ~~These distinctly show that the figure~~ characterise Sri Vishnu. The Kaustubha ~~on the chest is also~~ on the chest is also characterised ~~is also described in Silappadhikāram~~ is also described in Silappadhikāram.

The other ābharāṇams mentioned in Vol. 1 & 8 as Kautuka Bōram. These are similar to those on the ~~body~~. The āgama rule is that ~~be an exact representation of~~ be an exact representation of ~~These have been already~~ These have been already ~~We have only to emphasise~~ We have only to emphasise ~~like a Nagabharanam~~ like a Nagabharanam ~~Murti~~ Murti. The gold ornament on the arm is a subsequent ~~Nāga or Ādisōrha~~ Nāga or Ādisōrha associated with ~~Poigai ālvār~~ Poigai ālvār to remind us of ~~if made~~ if made. All the ~~girdles~~ girdles.

the serpent is not represented anywhere in the Garbhagnham not to speak of its absence on the body of the Deity. There is no Yantram on the Kireetam or crown. Incorrect notions are, however, being repeated through ignorance by bigots of alien creed. These misrepresentations will, however, be referred to at length at the end of this chapter.

The Idols which form a necessary complement to the Dhruva Beram, viz. the Kautuka, the Snapana, the utsava and the Ball Berams, will now be mentioned.

BHOGA SRINIVASA, THE KAUTAKA BERAM.

This Idol is made of silver and was consecrated by the donor Samavai in 966 A.D. This was discussed at length in Chapter VII. The idol is a true copy of the Dhruva Beram. The Chakram and Sankham are however permanent fixtures in the case of Bhoga Srinivasa. For a small idol made of silver such a fixture was a necessity. Further we have to bear in mind that when the Kautuka Beram was made in 966 A.D. the Dhruva Beram had the Chakram and Sankham on the hands. There is another feature on the Bhoga Murta which we presume is in the Dhruva Beram also. It is impossible to verify it now. On the pedestal (Pitham) and below the feet of the Kautuka Beram are counter parts of a Yantram (a six pointed figure) as if two equal equilateral triangles are symmetrically interlaced one being an invert of the other. It is possible that a similar Yantram is on the form of

the Dhruva Beram. But none can assert this positively. Sri Nammalvar gives in (3-4-4) a cryptic description of the feet of the Dhruva Beram which when compared with a similar description of the feet of the Tirumāl in Tirumāl-irum-solai (3-1-1) discloses that under the feet of Tiruvengadamudayan there was a figure representing radiating arms, whereas in the case of the other Deity the feet rested on a 'Padmam'. The radiating arms would represent the six-pointed ends or vertices of the Shāḍḡnya Yantram, the feet resting on the centrally situated hexagonal portion. The wording of the two descriptions is given below:—

About Tiruvengadamudayan—

பங்கயத் தண்ணெ னென்கோ? பவளச்செவ் வாய் னென்கோ?
அங்கதி ஈடிய னென்கோ? அஞ்சன வண்ண னென்கோ?

The word "Kadir" (கடிர) has the meaning radiating arms. About Tirumāl-irum-solai—

முடிச்சோதி யாய உனது முகச்சோதி மலாந்ததுவோ?
அடிச்சோதி நீதின்ற தாமரையாய் அலர்ந்ததுவோ?

Nammalvar's description was given about two centuries before the date of installation of Manavalapperumal. There was then obviously no pedestal of the Agamic pattern surrounding the Dhruva Beram. This figure would be on top of the Pitham or pedestal which as usual is represented as if made up of four planks one above the other. All the four are shown as bound together by three girdles

known as 'Trimēkhala This is a mythological pedestal which will be explained in the Chapter on the Agamas In short the four planks represent Dharmaṁ, Gnānam, Ausvaryam and Vairāgyam. They appear in a slightly different order in the Vaikhanasa and the Pancharathra āgamas But they are essential as pedestals in both On top of this pedestal would be a Padmam with eight or sixteen petals In the centre of this, or in place of this should be the six pointed Yantarm referred to above. In the case of the Dhruva Beram, the padmam itself is covered over and could not now be seen even by the archakas unless the structure of the pedestal is broken up

But the pedestal itself would have been constructed when the temple was constructed and possibly not before This statement is based on the practice that the pedestal the Vēdi and the walls of the temple are all proportioned to the height of the standing Murti There is no evidence that the present temple was built before about 900 A.D. This was discussed in the chapter on Early Accounts (Chapter V) It would have been a known fact about 966 A.D. if there was a Yantram under the feet of Sri Venkatesvara. This Yantram would have been copied in the case of the Kautuka Beram.

We could however state that a Yantram of this type would represent the six gunas of Para and Vyūha Vasudevas. These gunas are recognised by the Vaikhanasa Agama also —

THE KAUTUKA BERAM (BHOGA SRINIVASA)

Nitya muktaika sambhāvya schaturbhuja dharō

Harih

Anyūnānatariktais svaairgunaish shadbīr alankṛitah¹

It is by the predominance of two of these six gunas at a time that the three Vyūha avatars take place. These six gunas are "Gnānam, Aisvaryam, Sakti; Balam, Tējas and Vīryam" We could explain the pairing off on the analogy of the proton and the electron. More will be stated about this Yantram in the chapter on "Temples and Agamas"

The Kautuka, Snapana, Utsava and Bali Berams

Kautuka Beram.

Kautuka Beram:—This Mūrti was installed to make it possible to render daily abhishekam and all the other forms of puja for which a portable Murti is essential. He was intimately connected with the Dhruva Murti by means of a silk cord at the time of installation. A gold link and silk cord are used to maintain the connection even on occasions when He is brought outside the Sanctum Sanctorum for deputising the Dhruva Murti on special festive occasions. He possesses all the powers of the Dhruva Murti. The functions over which He presides are given in the Chapter on Festivals and need not therefore be mentioned here.

1 नित्यमुक्तैकसम्भाव्यश्चतुर्भुजधरो हरिः ।

अन्यूनानन्तरिकैस्त्वैगुणैश्चद्विरेलङ्कितः ॥

Bhṛigu Samhita, Chapter 38, (page 387).

Ugra Srinivasa :—He was originally called Venkatatturalvār (Gowaldalavar) The Tamil word shows that He was the resident Deity in the temple, perhaps even before Bhōga Srinivasa was consecrated. He seems to have been the old processional Murti before Malayappan and the Nachohimar came on the scene. But there are even now three occasions on which He alone figures—Utthāna Ekādaśi, Mukkōti Dvādaśi and Dvādasārādhanāmi.

Koluvu Srinivasa —Also called, Balī Beram. Every day after the morning Tōmala Sēva (which will be described in the chapter on daily worship) is over a function known as Koluvu is held in the Tirumāmanī Maṇḍapam when the Deity is brought out and seated on a silver chair with gold umbrella held over Him. The Panchangam or Calendar for the day is read out and then follows the reading of the collections from the Hundi (Koppara) made during the previous day. The number and value of all varieties of coins, precious stones, jewels etc. are given in detail. This is read in public. It is also here in His presence that what is known as Matrādānam of rice etc., which by custom the archakas are entitled to receive, is made. It is not possible to state when this custom had its beginning nor could we say at what time and how this Murti was introduced into the Sanctum Sanctorum. Although He is also known as Balī Beram. He has never been taken out to offer Balī after the daily puja is over.

**Malayappan, (the Utsava Murti) and his consorts
(Sri Devi and Bhu Devi).**

The first mention of this Deity is under the name Malai Kuniya Ninra Perumal (மலை குனிய நின்ற பெருமான்) about the year 1339 A. D. This has been discussed in detail already. Immediately before that date Ugra Srinivasa was in all probability the Processional Deity. He has no consorts with Him. He is like the Dhruva Murti a single Murti wearing the Chakram in a peculiar posture (called the Prayōga Sthiti) as if about to use it. It is possible that before the Pāncharatra exerted its influence on the old Vaikhanasa system this Murti was considered good enough for a procession. A tradition is current among the archakas about how Malai Kuniya Ninra Perumal superceded Ugra Srinivasa, who was known as Venkataṭṭuraivār. On one occasion during the Brahmotsavam when the procession was going round the streets in Tirumalai, a terrific fire broke out in the small village which destroyed the houses. The archakas and the devotees did not know why and how this happened. When they prayed to God to forgive any short-coming on their part, an Āvēsam came to a man which stated that times have changed and that He should no longer be used as the Processional Deity on pain of recurrence of such calamities. They were also told that in one of the glades of the mountain there was another Murti whom they should search for and use. So the rate Murti came to be known as Ugra Srinivasa and the new Murti with His consorts who

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

was found after a search was called Malai Kuniya Ninra Perumāl (because He was found where the hill bowed very low) In later years the name was shortened into Malayappan. The glade where He was found is now known as Malayappan Kōnai. But for this divine sanction in the form of an avēsam there would have been serious objection from the archakas to the introduction of a Utsava Murti with the Nachchimar when the Dhruva Murti was a self manifest single Murti. This would have happened some little time before 1339 A.D. when Śrī Ranganatha of Srirangam was also on the Tirumalai hill owing to the terror caused by the Muslim invasion of the South. There is no harm in making the guess that this Malayappan would have been the Pancharatra Tiruvilankōyil Peruman of Tiruchchukanoor and that Koluvu Srinivasa (above mentioned) was the Tirumantra Salaippperumal in the same place. During the disturbed days these two Murtis would have been brought for safety to the glade in the hill. A processional Murti with Nachchimar would otherwise have been considered an innovation.

The portable images or Berams who are by convention taken to represent the Dhruva Murti in their order of precedence are Bhoga Srinivasa Malayappan with his two consorts, Ugra Srinivasa and Koluvu Srinivasa. In the language of the agamas they stand for the Kautukā, the Utsava, the Sāṣṭhā and the Balli berams (or bimbanas). If the

THE FOUR PORTABLE BERAMS

agama rules of installation had been observed the above would be the order of precedence. The Kautuka.beram would have received consecration direct from the Dhruva Murti and from the Kautuka the Utsava beram gets its consecration and in like manner the Snapana and the Bali berams. But in Tirumalai the Dhruva Murti is self-manifest Brahman and therefore not consecrated by man. The first consecration of a portable image was that of Bhoga Srinivasa (called at that time Manavalapperumal) in 966 A.D. There was however another portable image even before 966 A.D. called Venkatatturaivar. But He would not have been consecrated according to the agamas, since the agama form of worship was introduced only in 966 A.D. at the time of consecration of Bhoga Srinivasa. Nor is He a correct replica of the Dhruva Beram. That was why Manavalapperumal had to be made in silver and consecrated. So, in the language of the Agama Manavalapperumal became the Kautuka Beram. Venkatatturaivar was made to rank next in importance and served as processional Murti (Utsava Murti) till about 1330 A.D. when as already described He was superseded by Malai kuniya ninra perumal with the two consorts (now known as Malayappan).

This manner of introducing new idols is not in the true agama style. So the inscriptions do not call Malai kuniya ninra perumal as the Utsava Beram, nor is Bhoga Srinivasa called Kautuka Beram. Nor are Venkatatturaivar and Koluvu Srinivasa des

cribed in the inscriptions as Snapana Beram and Bali Beram respectively

We thus find that in Tirumalai these portable idols are not known by the agama names but only by their popular nomenclature because the agama rules of consecration were not observed.

Sudarsana or Chakratālvār is another Deity in the Sanctum. He figures in separate procession on the Ankurarpanam and on the Tirthavari day of the Brahmotsavam on the 'Pushkaram' bund in front of Sri Vārāhaswami temple.

The Murtis who deputise for the Dhruvā Murti have been described above. We next have to consider the presence of the Processional Murtis of the Sri Rāma (Raghunatha) pantheon and those of Sri Krishna.

Sri Raghunatha and Sri Krishna.

The pantheon of these two processional Murtis will be considered together. Logically neither would be expected to be within the Garbhagriham of Tiruvengadamudaiyān. Their presence has therefore to be accounted for. There is no inscriptional evidence in the matter. In the case of Sri Krishna there is however a fragmentary inscription which states that Avani Mulududaiyāl the queen of Kulōttunga Chola I made an endowment for milk and curds for 'our Tiruvāyppādī Ālvān'. The words Tirumalai Ālvān also occurs

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in it. Although the fragment does not make a coherent statement we may assume that the supply of curds and milk was for the Tiruvavppādi Ālvān (or Sri Krishna), who is in the temple of Tiruvengadamudaiyan. The year might be about 1100 A.D. There is also an ancient usage of the Tnumalai temple that during the Dhanu māsam it is the idol of Sri Krishna that daily adorns the bed at night during the Ēkānta sēva but during the remaining eleven months Bhoga Srinivasa is the Murti for that function. Sri Raghunatha (Sri Rama) however, is not referred to in any inscription before the year 1476 A.D. This will be adverted to presently. That portion of the Sannidhi pradakshinam of the temple which was converted into a room about 1245-1250 A.D. known as Ramar Medai might not have been occupied by the Idols of Sri Raghunatha's pantheon, in 1250 A.D. The probability is otherwise even if Sri Rama and Sri Krishna were in the temple in those days. For neither Malayappan and His consorts nor Koluvu Srinivasa were then in the temple. They appear to have come in after 1330 A.D. There was no shrine or temple of Sri Raghunatha even in Tirupati till 1481 A.D. when one was built and the idol of Sri Raghunatha installed by a staunch Sri Vaishnava, Sathakopadasai Narasimharaya Mudaliyar (II 73, and 74, 29-10-1481) on Monday, Saptami and Sravana Nakshatra in Tula month Plava year. The same donor made a large endowment (II. 68, 23-11-1476) in 1476 A.D. in connection with the celebration of

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an annual twelve days festival for Sri Ramanuja in Tirumalai. One item of that endowment is for a daily food offering for Sri Raghunatha who is stated to be in the Tirumalai shrine. The inscription does not state that he installed Sri Raghunatha. The inscription in Tamil reads திருமலைமீது ரகுநாதன் எவர் எழுதி அமுது செய்குஞ்ஞம் படிக்கு திருப்போனகம் ஒன்றாம்.

Inscriptions of endowments made for newly installed idols clearly state that they were newly installed. The installation of Sri Raghunatha in Sri Ramanuja's temple in Tirupati (II 88 12-8-1488) is one such. So also the installation of Sri Ramanuja in Sri Raghunatha's temple in Tirupati (II. 137, 3-6 1497). Wherever there is a shrine for Ramanuja there would be a Raghunatha installed there by His side. Food offerings to Sri Ramanuja could not be made independently. There must be a Divine Murti alongside so that food offered to that Murti could be made over to Sri Ramanuja. The appropriate Murti for Ramanuja's shrine is Raghunatha since Ramanuja is considered to be the incarnation of Lakshmana. Therefore when the food offering was made in 1476 to Sri Raghunatha of Tirumalai by name as an adjunct to an endowment for Sri Ramanuja the only inference to be drawn is that at the time of installation of Sri Ramanuja in Tirumalai there would have been a Raghunatha also there. Although the inscription dated 1476 A.D. does not state that Sri Raghunatha was in Tiruvengadamudaiyāne Sannudhi, another inscription of the year 1504 A.D. of an endowment for a Nandāvilakku

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(III. 1. 4-9-1504) distinctly states that it was for Raghunatha existing in 'Tuuvengadamudāiyān's sannidhi "திருப்புகடமுடையான் சந்நிதியில் எழுந்தருளி இருக்கும் ரகுநாதனுக்கு திருநீர் விளக்கு நடக்கும் படிக்கும்...".

We could not however dogmatise that a Raghunatha did exist on the date that a shrine was constructed for Ramanuja. In 'Thupati for instance there was a shrine for Ramanuja from about 1200 A.D. but a Ragnunatna was installed by his side only in 1488 (11 88-12.8.1488) by one Vignesvara Srimān. Even the independent temple for Raghunatha and the installation of His Image were made only in 1481.

There would have been no objection from any sect of Hindus for installing Sri Raghunatha and Sri Krishna as adjuncts to 'Tuuvengadamudāiyān because He is Narayana come here from Vaikuntham and the two deities are only His avatars. We have already shown that the Archavatār of Sri Venkatesvara has a logical connection with Sri Rama and Sri Krishna. We have also shown that slokas of the Mantrapushpam referring to these Murtis is based on that conception. There are two stories connected with the life of Srīman Nāthamuni and Yāmūnācharya, which suggest that Sri 'Thumalai Nambi might have installed the idols of Krishna and Rama as he would have had strong sentimental reasons for doing it. The tradition about Nathamuni is that after a long life of 340 years he had an unexpected call from Sri Rama. On a morning when he had gone out for the morning bath two Villis

(huntsmen) and a woman with a monkey called at his lodgings. His daughter who was at home informed them that he had gone for his bath. They went away leaving a message that he was wanted by them. This message was delivered to him and straight away he went in search of them. And after a long search got darsan of them in a forest and obtained release from this life. Relating to Sri Yamunacharya (Ālavandar) the story is that impelled by a sincere desire to be initiated into Yoga marga he went to meet the great guru Tirukkurukaippiran at a moment when he was in deep meditation with an image in front of him. For fear of disturbing him Yāmūnāchārya hid himself behind a wall in rear. The Yogi suddenly asked whether there was on the spot any scion of the Soṭṭai family (சோட்டை மரபினர்) Yāmūnāchārya came forward, submitted with prostration that his humble self was a scion of that family and enquired how the Yogi came to suspect his presence. The reply was that the idol of Sri Krishna turned his face to the wall which could have occurred only if there was one of the Soṭṭai family there for he is so partial to them. Yāmūnāchārya was Tirumalai Nambī's grand father at whose feet the latter learnt his spiritual lessons. It was after hearing his exposition of a portion of Nammālvārs Prabandham in praise of Sri Venkaṭesvara he came away to Tirumalai and dedicated himself solely and unreservedly to the service of Tiruvengadamudaiyan. Srīman Nātha Munigal was

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Yāmunācharya's grand father and was the founder of that system of faith or Bhakti which culminated in Sri Ramanuja Siddhantam dealt with in his Sri Bhashya. There is another point also. Tirumalai Nambi himself was in his life time the best exponent of the esoteric meanings of Vālmiki's Ramayana and Sri Ramanuja sat at his feet for one year to imbibe the interpretations. His intense devotion to Sri Raghunatha and Sri Krishna could therefore be well appreciated by us.

Therefore, the probability amounting to a certainty is that Tirumalai Nambi installed in the Garbha Griham the images of Sri Rama and Sri Krishna during his life time even if they were not installed before.

It may be mentioned here that neither Sri Raghunatha nor Sri Krishna enjoys separate daily puja. They share in the Nityārchana for Sri Venkatesa. All food offerings made in the Garbha griham are first offered to Sri Venkatesvara even when intended for Sri Rama or Sri Krishna. But in āsthanams and processions outside the garbhagriham the particular idol gets the offerings direct. This procedure is distinctly mentioned in the inscriptions, such as (II. 88. 12-8-1486)¹

¹ ஸ்ரீஐயநதி நான் திருஷணராயன் திருவவதாரம் பண்ணி
னதே காலத்தில திருவேங்கடமுடையானுக்கு திருக்கணுமடை திரு
வோலககம் ஒன்றும் (II. 68, 12-8-1486)

“ திருஷண் திருநடவத்திரம் ரோஹிணி வருஷம் க-கரு
நான் கரு-கரு திருவேங்கடமுடையான் அமுது செய்யும் அபய
படி சூக ”. (III 165, 8-11-1524)

For offerings made outside the temple direct to Sri Krishna'

THE TEMPLE, ITS PECULIARITIES.

It has already been shown that the temple with its one Murti (**EKA MURTI**) and devoid of ancillary deities which the Samhita prescribes shows distinctly that from the earliest days it stood out as something different from the āgama types. It was also shown how the idea of setting up more Mūrtis in the niches of the first pradakshinam did not succeed. There are some other features also which will be referred to now.

We do not find the undermentioned āgama bimbams figured in their respective place —

Dhatrī and **Vidhatrī** guarding the door way, the former on the south side and facing North, the latter on the North side facing South. **Bhuvanga** lying on the sill of the door frame with his head on the south and facing up. **Patanga** would be pictured on the soffit stone with his head on the North and facing down. The **dvarapalas** on (the first door way) either side of this door would be **Manikam** and **Sandhya**. The **dvarapalaś** at the **Mukha manta** pam door way would be **Vikhanas** and **Tapasa**. The **dvarapalas** at **Prathamavarana** doorway would be **Kishkindam** and **Tirtha**. The **dvarapalas** at the second

1 திருக்கோடி திருநாள் எட்டுக்கு திருக்கோணேரி சைவியை நம்பிப் பண்டபந்திய ஒழுங்கு திருநாள் இருபுணர்வுகள் ஏழி அருளி அருளு செய்குஞ்ஞம தோண படி ௮ ' III. 173 19-7 1527

THE TEMPLE, ITS PECULARITIES

avarana doorway would be **Vakratunda** (Ganesa) and **Nagaraja** (Serpent). Not one of these is depicted in this temple. Other essential elements (in addition to the above) to make up an **Adhamadhama temple** (lowest) are **Vishvaksena**, **Garuda**, **Sribhutam**, **Nyaksha** and **Bhutapitham**. We have only **Vishvaksena** and **Garuda** in their proper place in the temple. **Sri Bhūtām** who should be in the **sopanam** in the first **āvaśānam** finds his place among the five stones placed between the **Dhvajastambham** and **Balipītham** which are outside the inner **gopuram**. **Nyaksha** is not figured. The next higher type of temple, the **Adhama Madhyama**, should have in addition to the above, **Indra** and the other **digdevatas** (8), **Bhaskara**, **Chakram**, **Sankham**. The **digdevatas** are only to be imagined in this temple while **Bhaskara**, **Saukham** and **Chakram** are grouped into the five stones referred to above.

Vishvaksena, and **Garuda** as also **Dhvajastambham** and **Balipītham** are common to all classes of temples, **Vaikhanasa** and **Pāncharatra**, even of the commonest type. The **devatas** and the **dīkṣāpālas** etc., are essential deities in a **Vaikhanasa** temple. Every day the **Bali Beram** of **Sri Venkatesvara** should be taken out for offering **haviṣ** to these. The procession should be in a palanquin accompanied by music, dancers, songsters, etc. There are **nrittam**, **ragam** and music to be done before each **devata**, in the appropriate manner prescribed for each. This is called **Nityotsavam** and is common to **Vaikhanasa** and **Pāncharatra** temples. **Such a festival does not**

appear to have been in vogue during any period of the history of this temple. It was already stated that the mantrapushpam ritual is something specially coined for this temple. It is not of the pattern given in any agama. The Brahmārādhnam by night seems to have cut out the necessity for strict observance of the agama procedure. The Vaikhanasas have however been doing the puja from time immemorial. The abbreviated form of worship which was current seems to have in the course of ages affected their competency and to have made it necessary for them to import one family from some other part of the country for celebrating the rituals of the annual festival in the proper manner. This family consequently enjoys a greater share in the emoluments than the others. If the daily puja were performed scrupulously and in strict accordance with the agamas there would be little time left to the pilgrims for darsan.

The Other Berams.

In this connection a few words have to be said about the other Berams that is other than the Kautuka Beram in the matter of food offering. Each Beram should get its own share of food in relation to the quantity offered to the Dhruva Beram. The usual share would be something like the following. Dhruva Beram one dronam or marakkal or tumbu. For Devī half a tumbu. Kautukam half dronam, Utsava Beram half dronam. Snapana, half dronam and balli beram half dronam. Jag

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gery in addition by day and payasam by night. When a temple is consecrated for the first time all these Murtis and Berams would be installed and due provision made for the ration to each (at least for the day time). We know that Samavai while consecrating the Kautuka Beram made a provision of four nali of rice per day (four nālī may be equal to a dronam). There was not a Utsava Murti then. Malayappan comes to light only about 1339 A.D. Nobody made an endowment for the supply of food ration for this Murti. Nor do we hear of any endowment for the other Berams. If Bhoga Srinivasa was offered 4 nālī of rice per day, the Dhruva Beram and Sri Devi should have been receiving (12 nālīs) one Dronam and a half per day. Inscriptional evidence for the quantity offered to the Dhruva Beram is wanting. But from a certain inscription of the thirteenth century¹ we learn that one half of the village of Payidipalle was the property of Sri Venkateswara from ancient times. One family of the archakas is known as Paidipalle dikshitulu. It is likely that this family was from very early days in enjoyment of the income from one half of the village of Paidipalle. This archaka would have been offering to the Deity a certain quantity of cooked rice and, as has been the ancient usage, himself enjoying that food. The Āgamas make it incumbent on the donor who consecrates a temple to make an adequate endowment of land to enable the archaka to lead a happy and contented

¹ I. 86, 1284 A.D.

life All the other idols which came in later do not appear to have been provided for separately From the Vaikhanasa point of view these were intruders, not having been consecrated properly This affords us indirect evidence that the temple was not consecrated strictly in accordance with the Vaikhanasa or Pancharathra agama.

Some Crude and Incorrect Notions.

The description and the explanation given above show that the Dhruva Murti in Tirumalai represents some form of Vishnu There are however some persons they might be few in number, who consider the Murti to represent Subramaniaswami, Durga or some form of Sakti They point to this or that emblem or symbol which is common to several Deities to sayings or statements alleged to have been made by Sri Sankaracharya and to incorrect information given by men. Some of these are given collectively in a book recently published by one Sri V N Srinivasa Rao a Retired Tahsildar

(1) Because North Indians call Srinivasa by the name Balaji and because Durga seems to be known by the name Balā when she was nine years of age Sri Venkatesa s Durga Is this not fine logic? He forgets that North Indians commenced going to Tirupati only from the days of Sivaji in the middle of the seventeenth century A.D The Bhagavata slokam— Tamadbhutam Balakamamhujekshanam eto, in describing the dāsan which Sri Krishna

SOME CRUDE AND INCORRECT NOTIONS

gave to His father soon after His birth may be referred to in this connection. We have already shown how closely this avatar has been recognised to be associated with Sri Venkatesvara. A standing Murti with a lovely countenance and plump body fully decorated with ornaments would appropriately be called "Bālaka."

(2) People considered the Tirumalai Hill a form of Mērchakram which is a form of Devi. No one could take objection to that conception if one stretches his imagination to that extent. But the range of hills has always been called Vēngadam. Even the name Sēshāchalam is of recent origin. Because the hill is so sacred as to burn away all sins and because people wish to worship the God thereon it is considered good manners to ascend the hills after bathing and wearing fresh or wet clothes. We are only surprised that the author did not add another argument that those who have a prārthana to fulfil wear cloth dyed in turmeric water to please Durga thereby.

(3) He adds that the real name of Gāligōpuram is Kālī Gōpuram. The gōpuram itself was constructed in 1628 A.D. a fact perhaps not known to the author. The gōpuram was built by a rank Sri Vāishnava (Matla Anantaraja) who would not have left an inch of space for Kālī there.

(4) "At the corners of the top of the central Vimanam are placed forms of couchant lions, the vehicle and emblem of Sakti." We do not dispute

it. But the Vaikhanasa and the Pancharathra agamas require that either the lion or the eagle (Garuda) should be placed at the corners.

'Sukhāsanāsamāyuktam Sarvāṅkarasamyutam |
Vyālordhvakoṇakamchaiva Viśam vā tva mṛigēs-
varam.t

also

'Vakratundam oha Durgāṁchāpyagramandapa-
bhittishu |
Sthitamēvam susamsthāpya yadhālābham samar-
chayēt."s

Bhṛigu Samhita (Vimāna devata)

Not only on top of Vimānam but also at corners on top of mantapams either of these should be placed. The lion is selected to ward off enemies of the King if the temple is situated in a locality where that consideration is necessary. If for spiritual and cultural ends only Garuda. We know that Vīra Narasiṅga Yādavarāya built the Vimānam. The couchant lion would naturally have been preferred. It is unfortunate that the images of Ganesa and of Durga who should also find a place in the temple as per Agamas have not been placed in this temple. If that had been done Mr Srinivasa Rao could have pointed to them to strengthen his arguments.

सुखासनसमायुक्तं सर्वोत्तमशरसमुत्तमम् ।
व्यालोर्ध्वकोणैर्नक्तं चैव वीगं दाड्यं मृगेश्वरम् ॥
वक्रतुण्डं च दुर्गाचार्यमन्त्रमण्डपमितिपु ।
स्थितमेव सुसंस्थाप्य यथाशक्तं समर्चयेत् ॥

SOME CRUDE AND INCORRECT NOTIONS

(5) **Simha lalatams, Jata and Srichakram on the crown.** There is no jata on the head of the Murti, a fact already mentioned. Nor is there a Sri Chakram on the Kireetam. Mr Rao could have had no occasion, to go near the Dhruva Bēram to observe the features of the Crown (or Kireetam). Even the Acharyapurushas do not enjoy that privilege. Unless the officiating Aichaka is a very tall man even he could not satisfy the desire to observe at close quarters.

The so-called Simha lalātam is a common engraving on certain ornaments, including those covering the marmasthānam of male as well as female figures. It is a very rough delineation which by a stretch of imagination we associate with the face of a lion. It could be seen on many images of both sexes.

(6) **The Ritual aspect-Sakti.** Here again Mr. Rao is ill-informed. Referring to the "Drapery" which is usually called "Ulchāttu," he points to its long length as a definite proof of the Deity being Durga or Sakti. This Ulchāttu is of recent origin and has been necessitated by the large number of heavy ornaments and āyudhams with which the Deity is decorated. Commonsense would tell us that a thick padding should be provided if these ornaments, many of which have sharp edges, are not to injure the fine markings etc., on the form of the Murti. How much care is bestowed in the arrangement of the folds of the cloth, it is only those who have the privilege to witness that could realise.

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The Nagabharana is not an ornament integral with the body of the Murti. There is nothing corresponding to it on the image. The Naga is one of the Nityas ever present with Vishnu Murti. Its absence even as the seat or Sandals of Srinivasa is a unique feature. The Nagabharana connotes nothing in particular.

The sandal paste was introduced only in the fifteenth century A.D. Inscriptions are our authority. Balls of perfumed sandal paste not only adorn Sri Devi on the chest by night but two balls (billas) are placed over the feet of the Dhruva Bēram. Gandham is sacred to Vishnu.

The abhishekam and its origin have been explained in connection with the installation of Bhoga Srinivasa. Turmeric bath is not given to Srinivasa on Fridays. Saffron paste is added to the water. For Snapana Tirumanjanam of all Vishnu Murtis, turmeric is however one of the ingredients. Neither Vadai nor pāyasam is offered to the Deity after the bath. Pōli is offered during the second bell. Even that is of recent origin. It has no antiquity behind it.

Abhishekam for the gold emblem of the Goddess Alarmal Mangai

This image is not an integral part of the Dhruva Bēram. It is really an ornament presented by some Bhakta (they say it is one of the Maharajahs of Mysore) for permanent wear and endowment also was made for its abhishekam.

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This Goddess is removed and abhishekam done separately for the simple reason that it should not receive the same along with the Murti and Sri Devi. It is not open to every worshipper to see how it is hung and how it is removed and refitted. Hence the screen and the secrecy.

(7) There is neither a meru chakra under the pedestal of Bhoga Srinivasa nor any puja therefor. All puja is only for the Dhruva Murti, the Bhoga Beram and the other idols. If the screen is put on it is for replacing the Bhōga Murti from the Snapana pītham to its archā pītham.

These operations could not be carried out in the presence of all. The āgamas enjoin screening on such occasions. The Yantram which is on the pedestal and also under the feet of Bhoga Srinivasa has already been referred to. The idol itself was installed in Sri Alavandar's life time in 966 A D.

(8) **Bilva Patram**:—This is one of the eight punya pushpams acceptable to Vishnu in the daily puja.

Padmasamhitā 12 Adhyayē (charyapadē):—

“Thulasīchathushtayamdūrvā bilvapathram cha
Pūjāhāni.

Thulasyau sithakṛṣṇēcha kēvalakshapakāsthathā
Chathvarasthulasībhēdā dūrvābilvadalānicha ॥
Sarvadārādhanārhanī । ”

पाद्मसंहिता १२ अध्याये (चर्यापादे) —

“तुलसीचतुष्टयं दूर्वा विल्वपत्रं च पूजार्हाणि,
तुलसीयां सितकृष्णेच केवलक्षपकास्तथा ।
चत्वारस्तुलसीभेदा दूर्वाविल्वदलानि च ॥
सर्वदाराधनार्हाणि ॥”

From Brigu Samhita Page 185 —

“Nandyāvarthañcha padmañcha thulasivishṇu
Parṇikā |
Bilvañcha karaveerañcha padmāṃ kumuda
mēvacha |
Aṣṭa vai puṇyapushpaṇi grāhyaṇi thu yathā
kramam |

Both the āgamas recommend its use. The question should be put the other way Why is it not used every day along with tulasī? Its exclusion was meant probably to keep off ignorant fanatics laying claim to the Deity as something other than Viṣṇu.

(9) Brahmotsavam —Mr Rao does not probably know that it has always been called Puraṭṭāṣi Brahmōtsavam and that the period is regulated by the criterion that the Tīrthavārī should be on the morning of the day when Śravana Nakshatram is current. The additional or second one which coincides with the Dasara occurs once in four years when there is an adhika masam. The latter practice commenced with the advent of Saluva Narasiṃha and the Vijayanagar kings to give satisfaction to those who observe the Saura Chāndramāna Panchangam.

(10) Sri Venkatesvara's image is in the centre of the Garbha-griham and is therefore a Saivite Murti

‘ नन्द्यवर्तं च पर्यं च तुलसी विष्णुविंशति ।
विष्टं च करवीरं च पर्यं कुमुदमेव च ॥
अष्ट वै पुष्पपुष्पानि प्राञ्ज्याणि तु यथाक्रमम् । ’

SOME CRUDE AND INCORRECT NOTIONS

Here again Mr. Rao wrote out of sheer ignorance. If he had made a cursory acquaintance with the agama rules for the installation of standing sitting and reposing murtis of Vishnu he would have realised his mistake. The location of the Mūrti in the Garbha Griham has already been explained in the chapter dealing with temple structures. The place for Siva in a Vishnu garbha griham is the Paisacha zone just abutting the walls. The Dhruva Beram should occupy the Daivika zone. Sri Venkatesvara's image is precisely in this zone.

(11) **There is an outlet (Gomukham)** from the Garbha griham. Why it is not working has already been explained. Regarding the height of the Garbha griham, it has already been explained that it bears a definite relation to the height of the Murti. The builders have observed the rule.

(12) **The floor has at no time been raised.** The height of the Dhruva Bēra Pītham makes this obvious and is proportionate to the Bhuvanga or height of door-step.

(13) **Srivatsam** :—Mr Rao writes that the markings of the Srivatsam on the right chest, near the shoulder (instead of on the middle of the left chest as is usual with Vishnu images) betrays hasty and imperfect execution by later artists. He displays here not only his ignorance but the audacity in stating that some later artist interfered with the Murti and executed the work. The place of yoga Lakshmi and that of Srivatsam may be gathered

from the quotation given below from the Bhṛigu Samhita Lakṣmī kalpam (in the case of new temples and the installation of idols therein)

' Atha vakṣhyē visēṣhēṇa lakṣmīsthāpana
 ' muttamam ।
 Ashtadhā prōchyatē lakṣmīh Prathamā
 thvanapāyini ।
 Viṣhnōrvakṣhasthalē kāryā sarvālaṅkārasamyutā
 Dakṣhasathanasyōrdhvabhāgē Vahnysarē divya
 mandalē ।
 Padmamadhyē samāśinām padmadvayakaraṇī
 chitām ।
 Varadāhayaḥasthaśīcha mandasmitamukhām
 bujām ।
 Ēvamrūpām Prakurvita yōgalakṣmīsthu sa
 mātā ।
 Yōgalakṣmīm prathushtāpya Śrīkāṇasamya
 garhayōt ।
 Vṛthvā Śrivaṭṣarūpam thu dhārāyēdvishnu
 mayyayam ।
 Thatthadhimbanurūpaśīcha kuryāt śrivaṭṣa
 lakṣhanam ।

अथ वक्ष्ये विशेषेण लक्ष्मीस्थापनमुत्तमम् ।
 अष्टधा प्रोच्यते लक्ष्मी प्रथमा त्वनपायिनी ॥
 विष्णोवत् स्थले कार्यं सर्पोलङ्कारश्रुता ।
 दक्षस्तनस्थोप्यमागे वक्ष्यधे दिव्यमण्डले ॥
 पद्ममध्ये समानीनां पद्मद्वयकराचिताम् ।
 वरदाभयहस्तां च मन्दस्मितमुखाम्श्रुताम् ॥
 एवम्प्रां प्रकुर्वीत योगलक्ष्मीस्तु सा मता ।
 योगलक्ष्मीं प्रतिष्ठस्य धीमन्मन्त्रमन्त्रगर्भयत् ॥
 कृत्वा धोदत्स्वरूपं तु धारयेद्विष्णुमम्बयम् ।
 ततद्विष्णुनुस्मर्य च कुर्यात् धीमन्सलक्षणम् ॥ "

SOME CRUDE AND INCORRECT NOTIONS

Lakshmi is on the upper portion of the right breast (Daksha Stana—urdhva bhāgam) Vahnyasra mandalam and her place is over the Srivatsam as is well known to every Sri Vaishnava. The last line of the quotation deserves attention. The markings of Srivatsam depend on the rūpam or form of the particular Murti and is not identical for all. Srivatsam represents the Mula Prakriti and Sri Devi is its Adhishthana Devata.¹

1 Ancient authority from Sri Nammālvār's Tiruvoimolī for the existence of Srivatsam and Lakshmi on the breast of the Dhruva Murti has already been referred to. The relevant portions of the stanzas are given below and also Sri Andal's statement in Nāchchiar Tirumolī with the same effect is quoted

பங்கயக கண்ண னென்கோ ? பவளசசெவ் வாய னென்கோ ?
அங்கதி ரடிய னென்கோ ! அஞ்சன வண்ண னென்கோ ?
செங்கதி ரடிய னென்கோ ? தீருமறு மார்வ னென்கோ ?
சங்குசகீ கரத்த னென்கோ ? சாதிமா ணிககத தையே.

திருவாயமொழி 3 - ப, 4 - தி. பாட்டு (ங)

அகல கிலவேன இறையுமென்று அலர்மேல் மங்கை யுறைமார்பா !
நிகரில புகழாய ! உலகமமுன னுடையாய ! என்னை யாளவானே
நிகரி லமரா முணிககணங்கன விரும்பும் திருவேங் கடத்தானே !
புகலொன நிலலா அடியேனென னடிககீழ் அமாநது புகுநதேனே.

திருவாயமொழி 6 - ப, 10 - தி. பாட்டு (க0)

மினனாகத தெழுகின்ற மேகங்காள் ! வேங்கடத்தூத
தன்னாகத் திருமங்கை தங்கியசீர் மார்வர்கீது
எனனாகத திளங்கொங்கை விரும்பித்தாம நான்தோறும்
பொன்னாகம் புலகுதற்குளன புரிவுடைமை செபபுமினே.

நாச்சியார் திருமொழி 8 - தி. பாட்டு (ச)

(14) **Crystal Lingam** —There is no Crystal Lingam anywhere in the Tirumalai temple. Mr Rao imagines that Śrī Vidyāranya has stated so. Śrī Vidyāranya was the contemporary of Śrī Vēdānta Desika in the latter part of the 13th and early part of the 14th century. As for the connection which Kapila and Bhrigu are said to have had it may be stated that Kapila, Bhrigu, Ganesa, Durga, Siva, and Brahma are all Upadevatas in a temple consecrated to Viṣṇu according to both the Vaiṣṇavite Āgamas. But they never had a place in Tirumalai for the simple reason that Śrī Venkateswara is *svayamvyakta mūrti* and not consecrated according to Āgamas. There is also no antiquity about the temple of Śrī Kapileswara Swami.



CHAPTER IX.

NITYARCHANA (OR DAILY WORSHIP) IN THE TIRUMALAI TEMPLE.

From what has been stated in the previous chapters it would be clear that as the Dhruva Mūrti was neither made nor consecrated by man, the temple could not have had a definite form of ritualistic worship in its early days. It was also pointed out that for the worship of the dual form (a combination of Vishnu and Siva in one Mūrti) which one of the Mudal-Ālvārs appear to have seen in Tirumalai there is no ritual prescribed in any of the agamas.¹ The description given in the Silappadhikāram does not also speak of any ritualistic worship. The proportioning of the size of the Garbha grāham which bears a relationship to the height of the Dhruva Mūrti shows that the temple was built to accord with the Vaikhānasa āgama (and agamas in general). It was stated that the probable date of the construction of the original temple of cut-stone might be about 900 A.D. It was also inferred from the wording of inscription No. I. 8 that ritualistic worship (or

1 Tiruppāna Ālvar says in verse 3 of his Amalanādapirān that on the Vengadam Hills the worship is being carried on by the Heavenly beings which refers to Brahma, Indra, Rudra and the others

மந்திரபாய வடவேங்கட மாமலை வானவர்கள்
சந்திசெய்ய நின்றான் அரங்கத்தாரவி வசையான்.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATĪ

Karmārchana) commenced in 966 A.D. when the silver Kautuka Bēram called Manavalapperumal (or Bhōga Srinivasa) was installed and consecrated for that special purpose. The sanctity of Tiruvēngadam however did not depend on the temple structure or on the Karmārchana which man introduced, because divinity was not invoked by a consecration ritual. God manifested Himself there and Brahma along with the Dēvas has been doing the pūja by night for their own spiritual benefit just as we are doing for our benefit, spiritual and temporal. This tradition that Brahma conducts a worship by night has always been kept up in Tirumalai. Every night before the doors of the Garbhagriham are closed five large gold cups (vattils) are filled with clean water and all the spices required are put therein. All the other puja articles are also left on a plate. It is this consecrated water that is distributed to the devotees during the morning Darshan known as Visvarūpasēva. Devotees who are not Sri Vaishnavas have thus the satisfaction that the tirtham offered to them is water consecrated by Brahma himself. The worship which the Vaikhāṇasa archākas carry on is therefore secondary in character. Imperfections in that form of worship and differences from other forms are therefore ignored in practice. When the Supreme Being (Para Vāsudeva) manifested Himself in Tirumalai, He did not bring with him a Vaikhāṇsa Archaka or the Marīchi Samhita. This is where Tirumalai differs from other places of worship.

NITYARCHANA IN THE TIRUMALAI TEMPLE

Although the Vaikhānasa form of worship has been in vogue from ancient times there has not been in practice strict observance of the procedure laid down therefor. For instance in 966 A.D. only 4 nālīs of rice per day were endowed by Sāmavai for the daily nimandam of Bhōga Srinivasa. The probability therefore is that there would have been only one pūja performed during the day time when cooked food or Havis was offered. We do not hear of a night puja for a long time. A puja along with havis at dawn (Arunōdaya kālam) was instituted by Tiukkalkkanṛidāsaī Aḷagappirānār in 1434 A.D.; and that was only for six months covered by the Dakṣhināyanam.

Before giving an account of the daily puja which is now in vogue it is desirable to state the recommendations made in the Vaikhānasa āgama. The Pāncharātra Āgama has its own classifications and recommendations which will also be referred to wherever necessary.

The Vaikhānasa āgama recommends puja six times a day, viz, (1) Pratyūṣham (Arunōdayam or Ushahkalam), (2) Prabhātam (Prātaḥkalam); (3) Madhyāhnam (noon); (4) Aparāhnam (after noon); (5) Sāyankalam (evening), and (6) Nisi (midnight or Ardhayānam). This order is not being observed in Tirumalai¹. Except during the month of Māgasira

1 Kulasekhara Ālṅwār in his Tirumoli 1-7 states that worship 6 times a day was carried on in Sri Rangan and that would have been early in the 8th century A.D. But no such worship in Tirumalai.

மறமதிகமும் மனமொழிசது வஞ்சு மாற்றி
ஐம்புலன்க ளடக்கிஇடப பாரத துன்பம்
துறந்த இருழப் போடிதேத்தி எல்லை யிஃலாந்
தொன்னெறிக்கண் நிலைநின்ற தொண்ட ரான

there is no puja performed before day break Nor is there puja done early in the morning soon after sunrise. The Visvarūpaseva which takes place early in the morning affords only an occasion for devotees to worship the Deity Milk, butter and sugar are offered on this occasion. The third item viz., Madhyāhna puja corresponds to the Tōmāla-sēva and archana The food offering which accompanies it is called the first bell This is the only occasion during the day time when abhishēkam is done The fourth item is the Aparāhna puja which corresponds to the second archana and second bell with food offering This function is an abbreviated one. The fifth is the Sayankalapuja which takes place as a strictly private function. There is food offering in connection with this also The sixth or Nisi puja corresponds to the Ekāntaseva which is really no puja Bhōga Srinivasa adorns the bed prepared for the night. Milk pāyasam, fruits nuts etc., are offered and sweet music played This function should logically have no place in this temple where during the night puja is done by Brahma himself and therefore the Deity would not be sleeping in bed.

Benefits Conferred by the Shatkala Pujas.

The agama says that the pujas performed six times a day are really for our own material welfare

அறநிதிக்ரும மனத்தவந்தம கதிலைப பென்னி
உண்பாவதத் தாலனைபிப பானி கொன்னும
நிறநிதிக்ரும மாலையனைக் கண்ணனை கண்ண
நீர்மலக வனதுகொலை நிறநும காலை ?

NITYARCHANA IN THE TIRUMALAI TEMPLE

Puja in Ushahkālam promotes the viddhi (or increase) of praja and pasu. Piātaḥkāla puja promotes japa and hōma. Madhyahna pūja is for the abhivṛddhi of the Rajarashtram. Aparahna pūja brings about the destruction of dātyās (evil doers). The Sāyankāla puja is for increased production of grains and pulses (sasva). The midnight (Nisi) puja is for increase of cattle wealth. But as it is not always possible to do puja six times a day in every temple, the same agama recommends a minimum of one puja a day¹

“Shatkālam vā trīṣṭakālam vā dvikālam
ēkakālam vā Pūjanam dēvadēvasya ।”

We know that in Tirumalai it is impossible to have six pujas performed every day in a leisurely manner. The Pāñcharātra agama goes a step further than the Vaikhanasa and speaks of one, two, three, four, five, six, or even twelve pujas a day if that could be managed.

In Tirumalai there are really only two pujas performed in extenso. The one in the morning is associated with the name Tōmāla Sēva which is open to the public on payment of a fee. The second one in the evening (night) is, as already stated, strictly private in which the archakas, the paricharakas and the acharyapurusbas only take part. There is also an abridged puja in the afternoon. Among the lakhs of pilgrims who go there, there would

1 “पञ्चकालं वा त्रिकालं वा द्विकालम्
एककालं वा पूजनं देवदेवस्य ”

only be an infinitesimally small number who have even an elementary knowledge of the form of puja. It is perhaps for this reason that the component parts of the puja are not mentioned by their ritualistic names. They are called Sēvas such as Visvarupa seva Tōmāla Sēva First Archana Koluvu seva Naivēdyam, Sattumurai second archana, second Naivēdyam Dharma seva and Ēkānta seva. Dharma seva, Koluvu and Visvarupa seva are open to all freely. For Naivedyam only the archakas are allowed inside the sanctum. For Sattumurai (reciting portions of the Tamil prabbandam and praise of some Vaishnavite Acharyas) Srivaishnavas only are allowed since they alone take an active part in it. Darsan in connection with the Tōmāla Seva and Ēkanta Seva could be had only on payment of the prescribed fee. The pilgrim would only be witnessing the functions. In the case of archana however the name of the ticket holder with his gōtram would be mentioned at the end of the archana and the Lord invoked to give His blessings. Usually there is hardly standing space available for all the ticket holders to witness the functions with a feeling of physical comfort.

As there would be at least a few who would like to know what the course of the daily puja is like a short description will be attempted. The routine of the puja is mainly of the Vaikhanasa type but not in strict accordance thereto. There are intrusions deviations and abridgements. In the

NITYARCHANA IN THE TIRUMALAI TEMPLE

orthodox Vaikhanasa form of worship there is no room for one who is not a born Vaikhanasa to participate. If for any unavoidable reason an alien takes part in the puja, that other is known by the name Dēvalaka, and he is looked down upon. In the Tirumalai and the Tirupati Temples the parichāraka is a Sanyasi who does not go through the formality of receiving diksha or initiation at the hands of a Vaikhanasa dikshita. Yet another person who performs the mantiapushpam is an āchāryapuusha whom the Vaikhanasa would look upon as Devalaka. It does not however appear from the inscriptions that a sanyasi was doing the parichāraka service before Śrīmad Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyai became the Kartai of the Arisnālayam matham about 1380 A.D. and one of the Sthanattar about 1390 A.D. He was probably the first sanyasi who took up the parichāraka service in addition to his other duties as one of the Sthanattar. The claim of the Vaikhanasas to have their own men in the religious services does not appear to have been ever recognised in this temple. As the Dhruva Murti was not consecrated by the Vaikhanasa, any Srivaishnava is eligible to render religious service of one kind or another.

The routine of Nityarchana.

Early in the morning the archaka after finishing his bath and his nitya karmānushṭhanam should do his praṇāman to the key of the sanctum and proceed to the temple holding it on his head and

accompanied by the parichāraka and the temple paraphernalia and music. After duly perambulating the pradakshinam and prostrating before the dvara devas, he should open the door uttering the mantram appropriate for the occasion and enter the sanctum. Facing the Deity he does his pranāman reciting the mantram *Atō Dēva*. The paricharaka should attend to the lighting of the lamps. A mirror should be presented to the Deity while still in bed. Songsters maidens horses, cows etc., should be made to stand before the Deity. Brahmins should recite the Vedas (Brahmanan Veda vidushah), dancers should dance and songsters sing praises. They should all remain in the mukhamantapam. Then *Harati* (*Nirājanam*) should be done. At this stage fresh drawn cows-milk *navanitham* and sugar should be offered to the Deity¹.

The Deity who was in the bed is now removed to the *jivasthanam*. The practice in Tirumalai however is for the doors to be closed soon after the archaka paricharaka and the golla (lamp lighter and sweeper) enter the Sanctum. In front of the closed doors the songsters sing and certain sanskrit verses in praise of Srinivasa are recited till the doors are reopened after Bhoga Srinivasa is shifted to His *jivasthanam* from the bed. Cows, horses, elephants etc., are not present for the function, neither do Brahmins recite the Vedas. The camphor *hāratī*, cows milk and *navanitham* are offered only after the

1. *Phlroshpam chālva gokshiram navanitham asarkaram |
Dēvajya nivēdyātha Luryād javanikām puṣha ||*

VISVĀRUPA SEVA

Idol is removed to the jīvasthānam and not while yet in bed. No mirror is presented to the Deity's face.

The Visvarupa Seva.

Devotees are then allowed to have darsan of the Dhruva Bēlam and Bhōga Srīnivāsa. This darsan is known as "Visvarūpa Sēva". It got mixed up with the function of waking up the Kautuka Beram called Bhōga Srīnivāsa. This Visvarūpa Sēva is the darsan which is associated with the pūja performed by Brahma overnight. Worshipers get the Tirtham of that pūja as part of the darsan. Pilgrims get this darsan free, except on Friday mornings.

There are a few adjuncts to this seva which grew up gradually. A pinch of sandal paste from out of a big ball might be given to some. A small piece of perfumed silk cloth would also be presented. The small paste is called **Sripada chandanam** and the cloth **Sri pada vastram**. The former is applied to the forehead by the devotee and the cloth pressed to one's forehead in reverence and returned. These are articles which were in contact with the Holy feet of the Dhruva Murti overnight. When Bhoga Srīnivāsa was put to bed overnight, a half billa (cupful) of perfumed sandal paste was placed over His Chest; a quarter billa was placed over "Alamēlu Mangai Nachchiyar" adorning the chest of the Dhruva Murti. Another quarter billa was left along with articles for the Brahma puja during the night. In

addition to the above, two full billas (two balls) were placed over the Holy feet of the Dhurva Murti after removing the gold kavacham covering the feet and after wiping off the civet oil with the piece of silk cloth referred to. It is from these two balls of perfumed chandanam that the devotee is given a pinch during the Visvarupa seva. The billas would also be placed in one's hands so that he might press them both to his eyes. The practice is not however an ancient one. It seems to have had its origin in the middle of the fifteenth century A.D. (Vol II No 40 1469 A.D.) The use of civet oil was the work of Tirukkalikandridasar Alagappuranār. Subsequently Saluva Narasimha and Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar introduced the others. The term Visvarupa seva does not however occur in the inscriptions. There would in any case have been a morning darsan of the God arranged for the benefit of the pilgrims. The fine songs of the Tallapakkam Annamachar would have been sung for the first time in Tirumalai only during the reign of Sri Krishna Deva Maharaya in the first quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. The heartening sanskrit slokas of the Suprabhatam would have been recited at the beginning of the fifteenth century or in the closing years of the fourteenth century since Prativadibhayan karam Annan, reputed to be the composer flourished in the closing years of Sri Vedanta Desika. Sri Tallapakkam Tirumalai Ayyangar seems to be the first among the members of the Tallapakkam family who made Tirumalai his abode and he flourished in

TOMALA SEVA—MAIN PUJA FOR THE DAY

the sixteenth century. How the morning was welcomed in the temple in the centuries before the fifteenth it is not possible to conjecture. We are certain that the Vedas were not recited in congregation before 1430 A.D. in which year Śrī Viṣṇu-piṭāpa Dēvaiāya Mahārāya made the first arrangement for recitation of the Vedas. We are also sure that the Tamil Piabhandams were not recited inside the temple before the year 1476 A.D. In fact the Tamil Piabhandam songs known as **Tiruppallieluchchi** (waking the Deity while in bed) are not sung along with the Suprabhatam and the Tallapakkam songs for waking up the deity. The Tamil songs are recited later at the commencement of the Tōmāla seva, as if the morning sun was just then peeping over the horizon. These songs are also not in praise of Śrīnīvaśa but of Śrī Ranganatha. We must assume that the morning function was in the early centuries a silent one. In fact 1434 A.D. seems to have been the first year when a ushahkalam (arunodaya) sandhi offering was made.

It is likely that the singing of the Tiruppallieluchchi in the morning in front of Śrī Ranganatha when he was sojourning in Tirumalai between the years 1330 and 1360 A.D. gave the impetus for composing the suprabhatam slokas in Sanskrit in praise of Śrī Venkateswara. The Tallapakkam songs in Telugu would have come in a century later.

THE TOMALA SEVA OR THE MAIN PUJA FOR THE DAY.

The Tamil expression Tōmālai (தோமலை) is probably a contraction of தோதேத மலை (made up flower

garlands) The decoration of the Dhruva Bēram with flower garlands has been the characteristic feature of the Tirumalai Temple. The expression is intended to call the pilgrims special attention to the flower decoration which takes place at the fag end of the puja. The flower garlands are made in several pieces, each piece being of a particular size so that the decoration could be done in a spectacular manner and without waste of time.

After the dharma darsan of the early morning called Visvarūpa Seva is finished the sanctum is cleared of the pilgrims and the big screen is put on at the Bangāru Vākili. The Sanctum Sanctorum is cleaned, which process is known as Suddhi (சுத்தி). In this process are included such things as the removal of all the previous night's flower decoration of the Dhruva Murti, etc. and the cleaning of all the vessels required for the puja. Such of the garlands as adorned the Dhruva Murti are presumed to be used to adorn Vishvaksēna.

' Dēvanirmalya sēshēna Vishvaksenam Vibhū
ehya cha
Anyanirmalyamādaya suchusthane peu vā kshipēt

The other flowers are bundled up and thrown into a well. No part of it could be used by any human being nor could it be used for any other deity. But in practice even Vishvaksena is ignored as there is no direct approach to Him from within the Sanctum. He ehine unfortunately came to be segregated in the first āvaranam of the

TOMALA SEVA—MAIN PUJA FOR THE DAY

temple about 1250 A.D. and He therefore stands neglected. The removal of old flowers is known as "Nirmalya Sodhana".

In the meantime the water required for the puja would have arrived from the Akasaganga water falls. The bringing of three potfulls of this water is the inalienable right and bounden duty of the family of Thumalai Nambi who form the Prathamā Ācharya Puushas of the temples in Thumālai and Tirupati. One pot of water is used for the forenoon puja, one pot for the evening puja while the third is kept in reserve for the Brahma ārādhanam after the temple doors are closed for the night. This Akasaganga water is used for filling up the five vattils, or large silver cups used for the puja. The Vaikhanasa Samhita says that every day the water for the puja should be brought in procession on the back of an elephant. But it is so done only during the days of the Brahmōtsavam. Even then the water which is so brought is not used for the puja but only what is brought on the head by brahmins.¹

1 "Alankritya ghatam samyak kshaumēnūchchadya
tanmukham

Gajē sirasī vā kṣiptvā sarvavādya samāyutam
Punarālayam āvīśya kṛtvā chaiva pradakṣinam
"Sōmam rājānam" ūchchārya garbhagēhē tu dākṣinē "
Vinyasēchcha tatali kumbham tripādō parī sōbhītē
Elō sīrādichāhṛitya gandhadravayam yathāvidhi
Dadyādarchakabastē tu grīhītva tattupujalikaha
Pūrnakumbhē tu nīkṣhīnya tōyam tadadhivāsayēt
Alābhē kusadhurvair vā tulasīdalamisṛitaih

(Bhṛigu Samhita 18th chap)

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Marichi Samhita (Vimanarchana kalpam) does not however say that the water should be conveyed in procession on an elephant.

Pujakramam.

A detailed account of the Nityarchana might not interest the average reader or worshipper. It is enough to state that the water brought for use should be consecrated ritually and that some herbs and articles of perfume are recommended to be put into the five vattils or large cups which are filled with the water. As this is not being observed in Tirumalai what these articles are and their medicinal properties will be given in a separate note. The puja or archana is divided into the following parts. These are (1) Mantrāsānam when the Deity is presumed to be cleaning the teeth and washing the face (2) Snānāsānam when the Deity is given a bath, (3) Alankārāsānam when fresh clothes are put on, ūrdhva pundrom painted, etc. It is as if were the durbar, (4) Bhōjyasanam when Naivēdya or cooked food is offered (5) Yātrasanam when Bali Homam is done and the Bali Idol is taken out in procession to see that food is given to all the parivāra dēvatas, (6) Sayanam takes place only by night after the ardhayamapūja or Ēkānta eēvā.

Mantrāsānam —This does not require any comment. The deity is represented as if cleaning the teeth washing the mouth etc. Spoonful of water is offered for arghyam pādyam and āchamanam,

TOMALA SEVA—MAIN PUJA FOR THE DAY

(for cleaning the hands, washing the feet and for sipping or washing the mouth).

Snanasanam:—As it is not feasible to do abhishhekam to the Dhruva Bēram every day, the agama practice is to do the abhishhekam to the Kautuka Beram. In this temple the gold (covering or) kavachams of the Holy Feet of the Dhruva Bēram are also removed to a separate seat and given abhishhēkam. A large number of Saligramams also receive the abhishhēkam.

The Kautuka Beram, i.e., Bhoga Srinivasa, is shifted from His permanent seat or jivasthanam and placed on a bathing seat (snapanapīṭham). Before this is done the gold wire connecting it with the Dhruva Murti is detached. A light clothing is provided. The abhishhēkam is a ritualistic function which takes place to the accompaniment of the recitation of Vedic hymns such as Purushasūktam, etc. The idol is first anointed with perfumed oil and the oily matter removed by use of tamerind (or such like) paste and water. Then follow a series of baths with cow's milk, sandal paste, honey (madhu) and turmeric water (haridrōdakam). Everytime clean water bath is given before the abhishhekam is done. Again gandhōdakam (sandal paste water) bath is given. Finally a clean water bath. A sahasradhāra plate is invariably used so as to give a shower bath. Then the idol is wiped dry with cloth, pushpāñjali done before being restored to the jivasthanam. After doing prōkshana to the Dhruva Bēram the sambhandam or connecting link between the

two is restored and pushpanyāsam done to the feet of the Dhruva Beram. At every stage the appropriate mantras are pronounced.

The next step is the performance of Pushpanyasam for the Devas in the first, second and third avaranas in the pradakshina order commencing from Purusha in the east. Similar pushpanyasa is done for the three avarana devas of the Kautuka Beram then for Markandeya, Bhrigu, Brahma and Sankara. Then come the pushpanyasams for the Dvāradēvas dvarapalas the Vimānapalas, etc. Lastly the doorstep of the garbhagriham would be cleaned with water at either end and in the centre and archana done likewise for Dharmam, Gnānam, and Aisvaryam. This does not appear to be done in Tirumalai Marichī Samhita is cryptic in its account as the detailed procedure would be given to the archaka during his diksha only. The agama rule is that the nyasa for an absent (unrepresented) deva should be deposited between the feet of the Dhruva Beram. We know that in the Tirumalai Temple not one of these dēvatas is represented by an image or even by a painting on the wall. So all the nyasa flowers are deposited in between the feet of the Dhruva Beram. This fact is of interest to us as it is possibly for this reason that tulasi is not given to the worshippers as one of the prasādam of Śrī Venkateswara. If these dēvas had separate representation in the temple the puja flower for each would have been laid at its feet and the tulasi at the feet of Śrī Venkateswara would

ŌTMALA SEVA—MĀIN PUJA FOR THE DAY

represent His prasadam only. The mass of flowers and tulasi now being laid at His feet however represent the prasadams of other dēvatas also. The prasadams of other dēvatas would be acceptable only to those who do upāsana or worship to them individually for the attainment of material benefits which they could bestow. But to the worshipper of the Adī Murti, viz. Śrī Venkateswara they are taboo. It is probably for this reason that all flowers, etc., at the feet of the Dhruva Beram are dumped into a well. The flowers worn by the Adī Murti are the exclusive property of Viśhvaksēna and should be used to adorn him. We will point out presently how the absence of the images of the devas and the mutilated condition of the first āvaranam (Mukkōṭi pradakṣiṇam) account for the perfunctory manner in which Bali (food offerings to Devatas) is done without celebrating the Nityōtsavam ordained by the agamas.

Alankarasanam :—In this āsanam vastram, bhūshanam and uttarīyam (clothes, ornaments and flower decorations) are put on. Ūrdhva-pundram mark is invested to the accompaniment of the ashtakshara mantram and yagnōpavītam (sacred thread) also. In Tirumalai refined camphor and musk are used for putting on the ūrdhva pundram mark. This practice seems to have commenced from about 1465 A.D. The next item is the performance of the “**Mantrapushpam**” ritual. The ṛiks, ślōkas, and mantras recited in this connection are quite different

from what is given in the Bhṛigu or the Marichi Samhita and different also from what the Pancharatra Pādma Samhita gives or what Sri Ramanuja gives in his work Nityam. It is one which obviously was composed exclusively for Sri Venkateswara as His Murti Mantram. Bhṛigu Samhita says.

Tadvishnōriti mantrēna pushpadyaih puṣayēt
tatah
Mūrtimantram samuchcharya kēsavadibhirē vavā
Ashṭottara satastadvadashṭottarasahsraṇih
Anantaurnamabhih pūjyo nantanāmā bhavan
harih

It was already stated that this unique composition was made so as to trace this archāvatar here direct from the Transcendental Being connoted by the Ashtakshara mantra and by the avatars of Sri Rama and Sri Krishna. Quotations from the works of Sri Nammalvar Sri Alavandar and Sri Ramanuja are also made. The text of this mantrapushpam is not given here as it might not be of interest to the reader.

A function known by the name "Matradanam" is included in the Bhṛigu Samhita as the closing part of the Alankārāsanam. Although it is not mentioned in the Marichisamhita, which is presumed to regulate the details of worship in this temple, Matrādanam is in vogue here. This takes place as part of the function known as koluvu

Koluvu or Durbar.

The Alankārāsanam itself is a durbar held in the Sanctum Sanctorum According to the description given in the Bhrigu Sāmhita the Matrādānam should take place there. It is however done outside the Sanctum Sanctorum in the Mukhamantapam (or Tīrumāmani mantapam) This deviation may be taken to indicate that matrādānam did not form a part of the ritual of worship in ancient days and that it is an innovation "Matradanam" is the function in which a certain quantity of rice, gingelly seeds, betel leaves and nuts with some cash are given daily as a ration gift to the archakas. The Samhita says

"Tandulārdhatilār yuktam mukhavāsaphalānvitam
Grihītva kāmsyapātrē tu dēvasyāgrē nidhāya cha "
Darsayēt dēvadēvesya "Sōmam rājānam " uch-
charan

"Ghrihitāt parīte " mantrēna sparsayitvā karam
harēh

Archakāya pradēyam syan matrādānamiti
smrutam "

Bahusō dakshīnam dadyāddānasādgunya
siddhayē "

For this function, "koluvu Srinivasa" (or the Bali Beram) is brought to the Tīrumāmani mantapam on a silver chair with silver umbrella and other paraphernalia A laghu archana is conducted offering arghyam, padyam and āchamanīyam. A mixture of powdered gingelly seeds, dried ginger powder

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

and jaggery is offered to the deity and distributed to the congregation. The days calendrical details are read out from the panchāṅgam (almanac) and also an abstract account of the previous days' collection in the hundi in the shape of coins, gold, jewellery etc. There is no reference to this function (nor to koluvu Srinivasa) in any of the inscriptions. When the British took over the administration of the Temple about 1800 A.D. and resumed all the temple lands it would have been considered fair to give an extra daily ration to the archakas for the loss of income sustained by them on account of the reduced tasdik which the Government allotted to the temple. The daily income was asked to be read out in public during koluvu and the extra ration to the archakas would also have been arranged to be given openly on the occasion.

SRINIVASA SAHASRANAMARCHANA

This archana is a part of the routine puja, but one conducted for the material and spiritual welfare of individual devotees who pay special fees for the performance. This is performed only once after the Koluvu function is over. All those who have obtained tickets on payment of the prescribed fee are admitted into the Sanotum Sanatorium. The recital of the 1008 names of Sri Venkateswara is done. After the recital general blessings are pronounced and the names and gotram of the ticket holders read out. Some people make a lumpsum endowment, the annual income therefrom being credited as the

BHOJYASANAM OR NAIVEDYAM

annual fee There are others who pay an annual compounded fee But the majority pay for the individual archana. In other temples seperate archana is done for each worshipper mentioning his or her name, gotiam, etc, and the whole fee, or the major portion of it, is appropriated by the archaka In Tirumalai the archaka is paid by the Devasthanam a few annas for the extra service rendered We are not certain if this archana was being performed in ancient days The names recited in this archana are appropriate only to Sri Venkateswara whereas the usual Vishnu Sahasranāma is common to all Vishnu temples and is recited by almost all Hindus The first mention of Sahasranāma archana is in an inscription of the year 1518 A D (Jan)¹ The Emperor Sri Virapratapa Vira Achyuta Rāya performed this archana personally, asking the archaka to stand aside and recite the names More details are given in the chapter on Festivals This function earns a lot of money for the Temple

BHOJYASANAM OR NAIVEDYAM.

The Suddhi, or cleaning of the floor of the garbhagriham would be done and all the cooked food would be transported to the mukhamantapani (just in front of the Garbhagriham) in large vessels called gangālam These vessels are made to exact sizes called Sōlai, Half sōlai etc, measures The

1 III 123, Dark fortnight of the Dhanur masam of Isvara, Saka 1439

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Bangāru Vakili doors (the outer doors of the Sanctum) are closed and the large twin bells in the Tirumāmaṇi Mantapam would set ringing with deafening noise. The archakas alone are allowed to remain within. All the others should walk out before the doors close. Bhṛigu Samhita says that before the cooked food or Havis is offered, "Madhu parkam" should be presented to the Murti. But Marīchi Samhita is silent on the point. An attempt was made in recent times to introduce 'Madhu parkam' but was soon given up after a short life. The temple has its own traditions which could not be easily broken.

/

' Havīrarpanakālē tu na sēvyō harirucbyatē
 Tasmād vaikhānasan hitva brahmanā anyasūtri
nah
 Na visēyustathā anyē cha tat kālē viṣṇu mandī
ram
 Kavāṭam bandbayēt paschat ghaṇṭā nādam cha
kārayēt

HOMAM.

After the Naivedyam there is a homam which is recommended to be performed three times a day or at least once in connection with the morning puja. It does not appear to be performed in Tirumalai.

१ घृत मधु गुड चैव पयोदधिसमञ्जसम् ।

प्रसन्नाय तु सङ्ग्राह्यं मधुपदमिश्रोम्यते ॥

Ghee honey jaggery milk and curds.

“Nityāgnikundē chullyām vā parishichya cha
pāvakam
Charunājyēna juhuyānmūrtimantraḥ kramāt
budhaḥ.”

YATRASANAM OR BALI OFFERING.

For offering Bali or food to all the dēvatas garrisoning the prākāras etc., in the temple the Bali Beram (Koluvu Sūmivasa) should be taken out in a palanquin with full temple paraphernalia including music, dancers and songsters. Singing and dancing should be in the rāgam, tālam and abhinayam presumed to be the beloved ones of each dēvata, and food, water and flowers offered. To some only water and flowers would be offered. The perambulation should be at least round the three prakārams or āvaranam surrounding the Sanctum. In Tirumalai however such a function does not appear to have ever been conducted. The reason would be obvious to readers who have gone through the earlier portions of this chapter. For one thing the temple is consecrated for a single Murti. The first āvaranam stands mutilated. The archaka could not therefore locate or reach the spot where each devata would be presumed to be located. The procession therefore does not take place. The archaka and the paricharaka go round the vimāna pradakshinam, offer Bali to Viśhvaksepa and Garuda in their respective shrines, then to the Dhvaja and Yūda-dhipa and deposit the balance enmasse on the five Bali stones placed between the Balipitham and the

Dhvajam Some seem to think that the archakas shirk the work. But what is being done is the only practicable and rational course to adopt.

According to the Pancharatra practice and the practice of Sri Vaishnavas in their houses, one fourth quantity of the cooked food should be set apart for Vishvakṣena whose shrine is presumed to be in close proximity to the Dhruva Murti. But in Thumalai Vishvakṣena gets no preference and has to wait till the archaka reaches his shrine during his pradakṣhiṇam. Sri Bhūtam who is presumed to have his seat on the sopanam of the Mukhamantapam inside the Sanctum gets his share deposited on the five stones near the Dhvajasthambham. Even the names of the dēvatas who are eligible to get food do not appear to be mentioned.

SATTUMURAL

The word Sattumurai is used to designate the recitation of portions of the Tamil Prabandhams of the Alvars in the manner which custom and usage have stamped as inviolable. There is a prologue and an epilogue. These do not form an essential part of the Prabandham but were coined several centuries after the days of Sri Ramanuja and at a time when the Sri Vaishnava community lost its homogeneity and got divided into two warring sections even if at the commencement they did not mean to carry on an internequine war. The two sects are known as the Tengalais and Vadagalais. No further explanation is required to describe the two

communities as the unceasing criminal and civil litigation carried on during the last century and half would have made these names very familiar to every one in South India. What Sri Ramanuja built with great care has been destroyed by his followers.

The prologue is known as the 'Patram' and is the real *red rag*. In simple terms the followers of a particular Acharya who flourished some centuries after Ramanuja recite a sloka paying obeisance to that acharya. The epilogue is known as "**Vali Tirunamam**" (வாலி திருநாமம்), which phrase means "long may his name live." (Some thing like "long live the King") Communities other than Sri Vaishnavas have no place in the Sanctum during this function as they do not and could not take part in the recitation of any portion of the three component parts. Women and children have by custom been wisely excluded so that they may not witness any possible unseemly squabbles.

Sri vaishnavas headed by the Jiyangar stream into the Sanctum soon after the Archaka returns thereto after offering Bali. Portions of the Prabandham commencing with the Pātram and ending with the Vāli Tirunamam are recited. The congregation is then served with Tirtham, Sāthāri, Chandanam and Prasādam, paying due heed to the order of precedence of the temple hierarchy. This function is not mentioned in any of the inscriptions and that means that to the end of the eighteenth

century there was no such function. It therefore does not seem to have any antiquity behind it. The first mention of the Sattumurai of the Āḷwars is in an inscription of the year 1476 A.D and the recital of the Prabandham in that year took place in front of Sri Ramanuṣa's shrine and not inside the Sanctum Sanctorum. The subsequent adhyayanotsavams were celebrated in the Tirumāmani Maṇṭapam originally and in the Kalyana mantapam later. The Sāttumurai function where performed is the exclusive right of the Srīvaishnavas. The Madh yahna Pūṣa (Tōmala Seva) ends with the Sattumurai.

DHARMA DARSANAM.

A period of about an hour or more is then set apart for Dharma Darsanam (except perhaps on Fridays) which is for the benefit of pilgrims and worshippers who could not have had darsan of the Deity during the previous functions for which payment has to be made. The conveniences and inconveniences experienced during the Dharma Dar sanam have already been commented on. Then Buddhi takes place

APARAHNA PUJA.

This is usually called the Second Bell. A shortened form of puja is conducted the principal item being the second archana in an abbreviated form although the fee to be paid is the same as for the first archana. A second Naivedyam then takes place heralded by the long continued ringing of the twin bells

NIGHT PUJA—PARYANKASANAM

After the second bell the day's work is presumed to have ended and the box containing payments made by pilgrims within the sanctum is brought over to the Parapatyadar and the doors closed.

NIGHT PUJA.

The night Pūja is similar to the morning Tōmāla sēva. But it is strictly private and none but those who have a religious duty to perform are allowed to be present. The food offerings for the night are fewer and lighter in variety.

NIGHT DHARMA DARSANAM.

There is Dharma Darsanam during the night also except on Thursdays.

ARDHAJAMA PUJA.

The last function for the night is known as the Ardhajāma or Nisi Puja. This is a laghu or abbreviated one and is meant more for offering sweets, pāyasam etc.,

PARYANKASANAM.

The Deity is put to bed. Bhōga Srinivasa is the Idol which plays the part except during the Mrigasūra month. A velvet bed is laid out on a swing cot suspended by silver chains hanging from a beam in the Mukhamantapam which is therefore called Sayana mantapam. The fee for admission to this Seva is heavier than for the others. The Seva is known as the Ekānthaseva. Boiled and sweetened milk, fruits, almond nuts etc., are offered to the Deity and a portion distributed among those present.

As was already mentioned two billas of perfumed ohandanam are placed over the feet of the Dhruva Murti after removing the kavacham covering the feet. Perfumed ohandanam (half a hilla) is also placed on the chest of Bhōga Srinivasa a quarter hilla for Alarmēlmangai on the chest of the Dhruva Murti. A quarter hilla is left for the night puja by Brahma. These details are not to be found in any inscription. The practice however seems to be a long established one.

The two queens of Sri Krishna Deva Maharaya (Chinnaji Devi and Tirumala Devi) presented each a gold cup weighing 374 thūkams for offering milk during this seva (1513 A.D.) Obala Nayakkar Rama Nayakkar one of the generals of Krishna Devaraya presented two hundred cows (1514 A.D.) for offering one nāli or measure of well boiled or pāledu Kulambu for Ardhajama Seva. This is a thick preparation of sweetened and spiced milk.

THURSDAY PULANGI SEVA.

On every thursday after the midday puja is over the Dhruva Murti is divested of all ornaments, flowers etc and is given a light dressing of dhoti and uttarīyam. The Tirumankāppu and the Kasturi mark are scraped down leaving only a slight trace. The second bell naivedyam then takes place and the doors close. In the evening after the opening of the doors suddhi is performed and from the Yamunatturai are brought with temple music all the flower garlands specially prepared for decora

FRIDAY TIRUMANJANAM AND PULUGUKKAPPU

ting the Murti. This decoration exclusively with flowers is called **Pulangi seva**. When and why this arrangement was made we do not know. But in the description of the Murti given in the Silappadhikaram this seva is described in the following words.

“பொலம்பூ வாடையிற் பொலிந்து தோன்றிய
செங்கண் நெடியோன.”

The Tamil expression “பூவாடை” ‘Pūvāḍai’ is the literal equivalent of the Telugu “Pūlangi”. We are therefore certain that about the year 756 A D this seva exclusively with flowers was current. But whether it was a daily feature or one on Thursdays only we do not know. It may however be stated that it is a preliminary operation for preparing the Murti for the abhishekam on Friday, the next day. It would be a tedious task to remove all tiruvābhara-nams, clothing etc., on Friday itself before performing the abhishekam. The Murti is therefore divested of all these on Thursday.

FRIDAY TIRUMANJANAM

(Abhishekam)

AND PULUGUKKAPPU.

The Friday Abhishekam is for the Dhruva Murti since he does not get a bath every day. Pulugukkāppu simply means the application of or anointing with prepared civet oil which is called Meditta pulugu (மெதிததமுகு). The application of this scented oil over the entire body of the Murti is of recent origin. The Friday Abhishekam however appears to be more ancient. It was already sugges-

ted in Chapter VII that in connection with the abhishekam and consecration of Bhoga Srinivasa (or Manavālapperumal) an abhishekam would have been done for the Dhruva Murti also since the occasion was a unique incident in the history of the temple. That day happened to be a Friday and on subsequent Fridays or other Fridays coinciding with a festival day the Dhruva Murti would have received an abhishekam. The application of oivet oil or Meditta Puḷugukkappu seems to have had its origin in an endowment¹ made by Mudaliyār Thirukkallikanri Dāsar Aḷagappiranār one item of which was the supply of this scented oil (மெட்டிப்புலகுக்கப்பு), to be applied every day to the face of the Dhruva Murti during the six months of the Dakṣināyanam commencing from the first day of the month of Ādi (Katakam) to the end of the month of Mārgaḷi (Dhanu). It may be pointed out here that the whole body was not anointed nor was the application made all round the year. The current practice is to apply the oivet oil daily to the feet and not to the face. The use of oivet or Puṇugu (by which was meant the exudation from the pouch of the live oivet cat) for perfuming the articles of worship was introduced by Devaraya Maharaya in 1429 A.D. (I. 192). It is not the same substance as oivet oil.

Why the application of oivet oil was thought of it is difficult to find out. We know however that in certain temples oil extracted from sandal wood

¹ I. 107 16-7 1434 A.D.

(Chandanādi tailam) is applied to the Mūla Murti perhaps as a preservative and also to keep off cockroaches and other insect pests. This is however done only once a year. Civet oil is extracted by killing a large number of civet cats. The process is not the same as for the collection of civet as perfume. From an endowment made in 1496 A.D. (II 136) by Kandādaḥ Appāchi Annā Ayyangar, we learn that on every alternate Friday Pulugukkāppu was applied. This endowment was for food offering in connection with the function. When the application of civet oil for the whole body commenced we cannot say. Since Alagappirānar made his endowment in 1434 A.D. and Appāchi Annā Ayyangar made his in 1496 A.D. the practice should have commenced sometime during the intervening period. From an inscription of the year 1506¹ we learn that the application of Pulugukkappu after the abhishekam was for the Dhruva Murti only and that Alarmēlmangai Nāchchiyar was having only the abhishekam. This is also the current practice.

The Pulugukkappu murti and the Friday abhishekam however became a weekly function during the days of Sri Krishna Dēvaraya Mahārāya (III 80; 1517 A.D.) He set apart the sunkam (ஃஃஃ) of

1 III. 4 (1-3-1506) by Dharmapuram Sittamu Setti “தம முடைய பேராலே புழுக்ககாப்பு முறையனதோறும் திருவேங்கட முடையான் புழுக்ககாப்பு சாகதியருளி அலர்மேலமங்கை நாச்சியார் திருமஞ்சனம் கண்டருளிப்போலே” The Epigrapher has made an incorrect translation of this as if the Nachchiar also was having Pulugukkappu.

one thousand varāhams from Gudagūr Nadu for pulugukkappu on every eighth day (புலுகுகப்பு எவ் பத்தாம் நாள்). We might therefore state that the weekly Friday Tirumanjanam commenced only in January 1517 A.D. The inscription does not give details of the articles used for the function. A detailed enumeration of these is given in an inscription of the year 1583 A.D. (VL. 5) which records an endowment made by Eṭṭur Tirumalai Kumaratatāchariar. The details are —

Gambura	4 kudiram (1 kudiram=210 varā ham weight)
Civet Bags	200
Rose water vessels	12
Saffron	30 pana weight.
White cloth for face	1 (selai)

Note —Kasturi and turmeric paste which are included in the current practice do not find place in the above list.

The weekly Friday abhishekam is now an arjita function for the performance of which pilgrims make payment carry in procession round the sanctum as a mark of honour the perfumed articles for which they paid and deliver the same inside the sanctum sanctorum. The abhishekam is done not only for the Dhruva Murti but also for the Goddess Alarmēl Mangai Nachohiyar who stands on the bosom of the Dhruva Murti. It is therefore necessary to dilate a little on its details. The articles now being used in this connection are —

FRIDAY ABHISHEKAM, TURMERIC PASTE

Gambura or Pachchai Karpūram— $3\frac{1}{2}$ Kuchcha seers
(84 tola weight)

Civet bags (யழஞ்சு— $7\frac{1}{2}$ K. seers (= $1\frac{1}{2}$ viss)

Saffron (Kunkumappu) — $1\frac{1}{4}$ K. seers (36 tola weight)

Kasturi (musk)—3 varāhan weight

Turmeric paste— $\frac{1}{4}$ K. seer.

TURMERIC PASTE.

It does not appear that in the early days turmeric paste was used in connection with the Friday function although it was used daily for the abhishekam of the Kautuka Bēram (Bhōga Srinivasa). The latter was first introduced by Kandāḍai Ramanuja Iyengar in 1465 A D¹ On that date there was not an Alarmēl Mangai Nachchiyar on the bosom of the Dhruva Murti. She first comes to notice in an inscription dated 22-5-1477 A D (Vol II 69) when a Sandhi food offering was instituted for her. Her name occurs again in II. 134 dated 31-8-1495 A D It is however from an inscription dated 21-12-1496 (Vol II 136) that we learn that she shared the food offering after the puḷugukkappu on every alternative Friday. From an inscription III 4 dated 1-3-1506 we learn that she receives Her abhishekam after the Dhruva Murti has had his abhishekam and puḷugukkappu. This is also the current practice. The Turmeric Paste ($\frac{1}{4}$ kuchcha seer) is intended for Her abhishekam only. In 1583

1 II 22 (18-1-1465 A D)

Sri Kumara Tatachariar did not, however provide turmeric paste, The larger quantity of saffron in his endowment probably includes what was required for the Nachchiars abhishekam also All these details are gone into with a view to remove the misapprehension of some people that turmeric paste is used for the Dhruva Murti and that therefore the murti is really a female deity

GAMBURA OR PACHCHAI KARPURAM

Gambura or Pachchai karpuram and Kasturi are both used for the toilet after the abhishekam and the pulugukkappu This toilet is called tiru mankappu or putting on the ūrdhva pundram for the Dhruva Murti This as we have seen is not an ancient practice but commenced from about the middle of the 15th century It was first used for the Utsava Murti For we find in an inscription of the year 1390 A.D. that for the Tirumanjanam of Malaiyappan and the Nachchiyars gingily oil 1 ollock chandanakkappu 1½ palams, kastūrik kappu karpūrakkappu and kumkumakkappu were supplied The use of Pachchakarpuram and kasturi might have commenced then A few words might be said about 'pachchaikarpūram and kasturi While chūdan karpuram or crude camphor' used for hāratti is mentioned from about 1000 A.D. the use of refined camphor is mentioned only in 1380 A.D. The presumption is that its use as an article of toilet and in the water used for the Pūja is of much later date There are said to be three varieties of

FRIDAY ABHISHEKAM, KASTURĪ

camphor,¹ viz (1) Formosa Camphor; (2) Bornec Camphor known as Bhimsenikarpur (3) Blumea camphor. The second variety is Pachchaikarpuram so highly priced. It is said to be formed in the stems of the Camphora plant grown in Dutch Sumatra. As this substance is largely used in the Sanctum Sanctorum and as camphor is a very inflammable substance, the practice in Tirumalai is to offer the camphor haratti and straight away put it into water so that there may be no room given for anything to catch fire.

KASTURĪ.

Kasturi :—The Kastūrī in use is also known as Mriganābhī in Sanskrit (—English Musk). It is an “inspissated and dried secretion from the preputial follicles of the musk animal found generally in China, Russia, Assam, Central Asia and in the inaccessible cliffs of the Himalaya’s”. There are said to be three varieties of musk. (1) Kām rūpa of black colour and superior quality coming probably from China and Tibet. (2) Nepal musk of bluish colour and intermediate quality; (3) Kashmir musk of inferior quality. Musk (or Kasturi) is therefore an animal substance. There is however another Kasturi plant which grows erect in the Punjab, Himalayas and western Tibet. The leaves of this have a strong scent of musk and are offered to idols. This leaf might therefore be the one which accor-

1 See page 149, Indian Materia Medica by K. M. Nadkarni

2 The Indian Materia Medica by K. M. Nadkarni pages 1119, 1120

ding to the sastras should be offered to Vishnu to be placed on the forehead as ūrdhva pundra or Tilaka. This statement is only a presumption of the writer, since it would be highly improper to place an animal secretion on the forehead of a Deity who is being universally worshipped. It is a puzzle how religiously minded people tolerate the use of this on the forehead of the Deity.

CIVET OIL (Pulugukkappu) AND ROSE WATER.

It is likewise a matter for wonder as to how rose water and civet oil were allowed to be used on the Deity. For abhishekam water has to be supplied only by Sri Vaishnava Brahmins. But rose water is prepared generally by Non Hindus such as Persians and Muslims. And civet oil is prepared by soaking civet bags (said to be the pouch of the civet cat, situated between the anus and the genital organs, usually taken after killing the cat) in gingily oil and allowing the secretion contained in the pouch to exude into the oil by pressing while hot. The term pulugu itself explains the process as one of making the civet pouch to sweat out the unctuous secretion. In any case it is an animal secretion obtained after dealing with the animal in a violent manner. We and our forbears of the 15th century have reconciled ourselves to the propriety of its use as a toilet for the Dhruva Murti. This civet oil is smeared all over the body of the Murti after abhishekams with saffron water (Kumkumappukkappu) and then again with clean water. The Murti is

FRIDAY ABHISHEKAM, FOOD OFFERINGS, ETC

wiped dry with cloth before the smearing is done with the oil

As already mentioned the *trumankappu* is put on soon after the *abhishhekam* of *Alaimelmangai Nachuvayar* is conducted with turmeric water. These are strictly private functions. The above is the procedure for the Friday *abhishhekam* and *Pulugukkappu murai* which is really composed of four different functions; namely the *abhishhekam* of the *Dhruva Murti*; the application of *Pulugukkappu* the *abhishhekam* of the *Nachuvai* and the toilet called *Trumankappu*. After these are done the decoration of the *Dhruva Murti* takes place with clothing, all *abharanam*s, etc

FOOD OFFERINGS.

In connection with the Friday *abhishhekam* there have been endowments made for food offerings during the second bell. *Appāchchi Ayyangar* in 1496 A.D. made provision for two *athnasappadi*. One *Sittamu Setty* endowed in 1506 A.D. for one *Nāyaga taligai* and one *appappadi*. One *Bandaram Suthummaiya* endowed in 1534 A.D. for one *vadaippadi*. *Rayasam Konappaiyer* endowed in 1558 A.D. for two *athnasappadi* and *Kumara Tatacharai* provided in his endowment of 1583 A.D. for offering one *appappadi*, one *vadaipadi*, one *godippadi* and one *iddilippadi*. It will thus be seen that different kinds of food offerings were made and there will be no justification for drawing an inference from these, as some people do, that the deity

is female because vadaippadi, was offered at one time

THE FRIDAY ABHISHEKAM WATER (Tirumanjana Tirtham)

The kneaded paste of saffron is applied to the face etc. of the Dhruva Murti and when the abhishekam is done with water the first take off is a more concentrated solution of the saffron traces of gambura and civet oil. This water is usually appropriated by the archakas who may be sharing it with the Jiyyangar and the Pārapatyadar of the Devasthanam. The others only get the water from the subsequent take off. This tirumanjana tirtham is a highly prized prasādan. Along with this a quantity of the sweet cake offering called Pōli, is sent down the hill to Tirupati and distributed to the principal officers of the Devasthanam and to some local Government officials. Pilgrims and residents of Tirupati also try to get a few spoonfuls of this water from the Brahmin who makes the distribution. As the water will keep for some days it is sent to other places also. This practice has since been stopped.

(Sripadarenu.)

The Gambura or Pachchal Karpuram and Kasturi removed from the face of the Dhruva Murti are mixed with the civet oil which is collected from near the feet of the Murti and well kneaded by hand by the Jiyyangar. The resulting stuff is weighed and distribution made among those of the

OBSERVATION

religious hierarchy of the temple who might be present, after setting apart the Devasthanam's share. A small quantity is intended for distribution to the pilgrims (or dēsantānes) present. What remains which invariably is the biggest ball is appropriated by the Jīyyangar according to usage. This is called "Kamīdi" (what is left on the hand). This Śrīpādaiēnu is a greatly valued prasādam and is a lucrative article of trade. Spurious mixtures are therefore made in Tirumalai and sold as Śrīvāi prasadam.

OBSERVATION.

Saffron (Agnisikha, Kumkama).

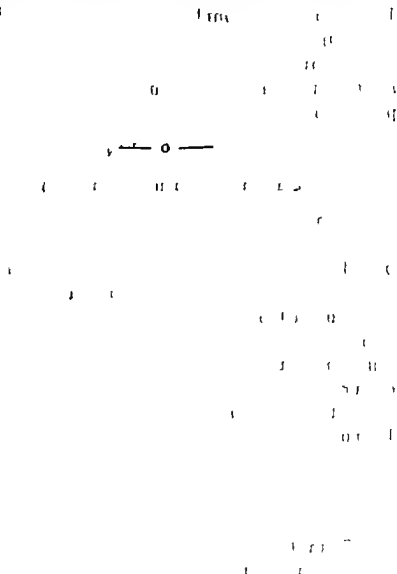
It is worth pointing out that kneaded saffron paste as an article for abhishekam is not contemplated in any of the agamas. The herb is a native of Levant in Asia Minor (now cultivated on a small scale in Kashmir). As an article of commerce it would have come into use after the Portuguese commenced their trading with the east in the 16th century. All the inscriptions up to the beginning of the sixteenth century A D mention only chandana kappu for abhishokam. Medicinally saffron is said to be used in small doses in fevers, melancholia, enlargement of the liver and in spasmodic cough and asthma and also for flatulant colic.¹

Refined camphor (Pachchaikarpur) which is also an imported article mostly from Borneo would

1. See Indian Materia Medica by K. M. Nadkarni

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have come freely into the market late in the fifteenth or early in 16th century A.D. Ordinary camphor (கமுகம்) was more common. The use of refined camphor for the ūrdhva pundram would therefore have had a very late origin. It is not mentioned in the early inscriptions nor in the agamas



ARTICLES USED IN THE PUJA PATRAMS

NOTE ON THE SPICES AND OTHER ARTICLES USED IN THE PUJA-PATRAMS OR VESSELS.

Although the current practice in Thumalai does not appear to be in consonance with the instructions given in the Vaikhanasa and the Pancharatra agamas, and in 'The Nityam' of Sri Ramanuja, the instructions given in the agamas will be mentioned for the information of the readers. This will furnish one more instance to show that in this temple even the Vaikhanasa acharam is not necessarily followed and that the temple developed its own usage and custom.

Five large cups or vattils are invariably in use for a regular puja. These vessels are given distinctive names, viz., arghya, pādya, āchamaniya, and snānīya pātrams which are placed in the south-east, south-west, north-east and north-west corners on a large circular gold, silver or copper plate standing on a tripod. The fifth cup, or vattil in the centre is for sarvārthatōyam (general purposes water). In the other four vattils certain herbs and spices are put in along with the water so as to produce a cold infusion. What these ingredients are will now be given.

PUJA DRAVYAM OR MATERIALS USED FOR PUJA

The vessels used as also the other metallic articles such as the bell, plates for offering haratti, the perforated plate for giving showēi bath (Sahasradhāra) etc., are included in the term pūjā dravyam.

In this note however it is proposed to confine our attention to the herbs, spices and other articles which are put into the waters used for the puja

In the conduct of the puja certain upachāras or respectful observances are ordained According to Hindu customs the proper manner of receiving even an ordinary visitor is to offer water for washing the hand (Arghyam) then for washing the feet (Pādyam) then for washing the mouth and drinking (achamaniyam) and fourthly water for taking a bath (snāniyam) It is only after having the bath and after having the toilet done (alankāram) that the guest is invited to have his meal (Bhōjanam) This procedure is observed in doing puja to the deity also For this purpose four suitable cups, called in Tamil vattals, are used for holding water and are named according to the purposes above mentioned and the fifth one in the centre Besides these five there will be a larger one of a special shape called Pratigraha patram. Its purpose will be presently seen

**Drugs and spices which should be put into
the respective cups.**

Before commencing the actual puja the vessels, water and all the other materials go through a purificatory tantric process The five cups are filled with the sanctified water and the spices etc. are put into the vessels as will be detailed presently The Vaikhanasa and the Pancharatra Āgamas give the details which are intended to be adopted in

Temple Worship Sri Ramanuja in his work on the subject of puja known as "Nityam" also makes his recommendations which are mainly intended for adoption by Grihastas in their home puja. It needs no saying that in every Hindu house a daily puja used to be performed in a suitable manner although modern conditions of life have largely liquidated this. Some rich people employ a purohit who does it for remuneration. Ramanuja's recommendations embody in substance what is contained in the Āgama Samhitas. The Samhitas are numerous; for our purposes however, the Bhrigu Samhita representing the usual vaikhāṇasa practice, the Pādma Samhita representing the pāṇcharātra practice and the Marīchi Samhita presumed to represent the Tirumalai Temple practice will be tabulated and examined in addition to the Ramanuja practice. This examination will be instructive in view of the fact that the current practice in the Tirumalai Temple is divergent from all the above. This divergence could not have been an ancient practice since the tradition is that Sri Ramanuja played a great part in framing correct rules for worship in all the temples. Even the Marīchi Samhita recommends the soaking of certain herbs, grasses and grains in the waters of the puja pātrām, although it mentions their names in a compact and compendious manner. But as the spoonful of water offered whether as Aghya, Pādya, or Āchamanīya is at once put into the same Pratigraha patram and as the Snānīya water also gets into the same patram

it does not matter to the worshipper how the herbs, etc., are distributed in the four cups. Before mentioning the names of these articles and their specific medicinal values it may be stated that Hindus who have strong faith in temple Worship as well as in the individual idol worship at home implicitly believe that all ailments of the flesh due to the disturbance in the tridosha (Pittā Vāyu and Ślēshma) are effectually cured by the continued taking in of consecrated puja water. It is not only the psychological effect due to this belief, but also the medicinal values of the herbs soaked into the water that give relief to the sufferer. How these herbs are distributed in the different vessels according to recommendations of the two systems of agamas is shown in the subjoined table. In some cases the same article finds place in more than one vessel which only means that a stronger infusion of the water is made with that herb.

Compendiously the articles so used for making a cold infusion are the following —

Vrihi (Rice), Yava (Wheat) Tila, (gingily), Māsha (blackgram) Priyangu (Valmilagu or tail pepper) Siddhartha (Whitemustard or Nayi Kadugu) Kusāgram (tips of kusa grass) Akshata¹, Gandha, (Sandalwood pieces) Pushpa (Flowers) Vishnu parni or Vishnu krāntham Padma Dalam, Dūr

1 Both akshata and vrihi are mentioned in the same breath in the Bṛhgu samhita. Akshata is probably the same as Akroṭa or Akrot.

vam (Grass), Syāmākam (Thenai or koria), Usīram (Khus-Khus), Thakkolam, Ēlam, Lavangam, Karpūram, Jāti (Jasmin) Pushpam, Lāmajjaka, the two turmeric, Mūna (Maruth kilangu), Sailēya (Lavan-gapattai), Champaka, Kōshtam, Jaḷāmansi (Kuri-viver or Musk root).

Each of the above has its own properties and medicinal value. It is however needless to enter into their virtues in detail here. Those who have a desire to have detailed information would do well to refer to "Indian Materia Medica" by K M Nadkarni¹. The diseases which the collective infusion might be meant to cure are epilepsy, hysteria, flatulence, dysentery, menorrhagia, bleeding of piles, vomiting, bowel complaints, fevers attended with diarrhoea or indigestion, pain of parturition, giddiness caused by biliousness, gastric and intestinal pains, gout, rheumatism, cholera, intermittent fevers attended with inflammation and irritability of the stomach, dyspepsia, fevers accompanied by bilious symptoms, enlargement of spleen and liver, gonorrhoea, heart disease, itch, leprosy, glandular enlargements, typhoid fever, bad teeth and foul breath, palpitation of the heart, nervous headache, chorea, menstrual disturbances, hysterio epilepsy, and similar convulsive ailments and generally for the promotion of appetite and maintaining proper functioning of the various organs.

Unfortunately in Tirumalai, these herbs are not used. The Marichi Samhita which is pre-

1 Short notes are given at the end

sumed to have been specially composed for this Temple gives compendious list of the articles to be used for infusion — 'Tandula, Vrihi' (Yava), Masha Sarshapa, Misramakshatam is a mixture of rice, wheat, blackgram and mustard also Siddhārtam, Tīlam Kusāgram (Dadhi, Ksheeram, Gritham) It is probable that owing to the temple being on an inaccessible hill the daily puja could not have been carried on in the early days in the elaborate manner given in the Bhrigu and the Padma Samhitas But when Sri Ramanuja about 1100 A D reorganised the system of worship on a satisfactory basis he would not have failed to introduce the use of the herbs recommended by the Agamas and by himself in his Nityam In the course of centuries strict observance does not appear to have been insisted on. The result has been that the current practice is something entirely different from all the previous ones. Refined camphor and saffron are the articles in current use for the puja pātrams as well as for the Friday Abhishekam These two could have come into general use only after they became articles of commerce and trade between Asia Minor Malaya, Borneo China and South India. Such trade would have flourished only after the advent of Vascodigama to the East.

It is a subject deserving consideration whether the herbs which have been in use in the past as the result of experience to safeguard the health and the lives of the worshippers should not be reintroduced

PUJA DRAVYAM, OR OSHADIS

Dravyam or Oshadhi used in the Waters of the
Puja patrams.

(N B. The Pātrams or vessels are called Arghya, Pādya, Āchamanīya and Snānīya and Sarvārtha Tōya. The dravyams are shown hereunder as prescribed in the Samhitas)

AGNEYA or S. E. for KEEPING THE ARGHYA PATRAM.

Oshadis according to the different Samhitas
are.—

Bhrigu Samhita :—Kusa, Akshata, Tila, Vrihi, Yava, Māsha, Priyangu and Siddhārtha

Padma Samhita :—Kusāgram, Akshata, Tila, Yava, Siddhārtha, Pushpam, Phalam, Malayajam

Ramanuja's Nityam :—Kusāgram, Akshata, Siddhārtha, Gandham, Pushpam.

NAIRRUTAM or S. W. for PADYA PATRAM.

Bhrigu Samhita :—Vishnuparnam, Padma dalam, Dūrvam.

Padma Samhita :—Vishnuparni, Padmakam, Dūrvam, Syāmākam, Tīlam, Akshata

Ramanuja's Nityam :—Vishnuparni, Padmakam, Dūrvam, Syāmākam.

VAYAVYAM or N. W. for ACHAMANIYAM.

Bhrigu Samhita :—Ēlam, Lavangam, Usīram, Tak-kōlam

Padma Samhita —Ēlam Lavangam Takkōiam
Karpūram, Pushpam, Jati Chandanam.

Ramanuja's Nityam —Ēlam, Lavangam, Takkōlam,
Lamajjakam, Jati pushpam

ISANYAM or N E. for SNANIYAM.

Bhrigu Samhita —Karpuram, Usiram Ēlam, Lavan
gam Gandham.

Padma Samhita —Kusam, Ratna phala bijam, Gan
dham Tilam, Akshata Dadhi Kshreeram
Ghritam, Sarvaushadhi

Ramanuja's Nityam —The two Haridra, Mūra Sai
lēyam, Takkōlam, Jatāmansi Chandanam and
Champaka moggu.

Sarvaushadhi is composed of Kōshtam Māmsi
Heridradvayi Mūra, Saileya and Champaka
moggu

CENTRE SARVARTA TOYAM

Bhrigu Samhita —Pushpam, Gandham

Padma Samhita —Tulasi Tilam

Ramanuja's Nityam —Nil

SHORT NOTES ON THE PROPERTIES AND MEDICINAL VALUES OF SOME OF THE DRAVYAM, OR OSHADHI, USED IN THE PUJA PATRAM WATERS FOR A COLD INFUSION

Vrihi is rice—Water in which unboiled rice is
soaked is known as Tandulambu. This water is
used as a vehicle for some powders and also for
washing ulcers and wounds.

MEDICINAL VALUE OF OSHADHIS

Yava is Wheat.—It has three outer skins besides the three inner portions. The outermost skin is fibrous and excites mechanical action in the stomach resulting in digestion of food. The next two skins contain acids and salts which produce bone, hair and teeth. Yava is the name used for barley also, but less frequently.

Tila is gingelly seeds or Sesanum :—There are three varieties black, white and red. The black one is the best for medicinal purposes. The seeds are specially useful in piles and constipation.

Masha is ulundu (tamil), minimu (telugu) black-gram —It is the most demulcent, cooling as well as nutritious of all pulses, also aphrodisiac and nervine tonic. Medicinally it is used internally in gastric catarrh, dysentery, diarrhoea, cystitis, paralysis, piles, rheumatism, and affections of the liver and the nervous system.

Priyangu :—a Sanskrit dictionary for Vaidika terms gives this as representing Manjal (turmeric) Kunkumum. Valmilagu (tail pepper) or Tippili (long pepper). As turmeric and Kunkumum are referred to separately, tail pepper or vālmilaku is meant here. It is used as a carminative spice in diseases of the genito urinary organs. It produces tension of the vocal cords and clears the throat of the tenacious mucus.

Siddhartha :—white mustard, நாய்க்கீழ். In small doses it promotes digestion and removes flatus.

Kusa grass —Dūrva An infusion of its herb is used as diuretic and astringent.

Durvam —Arugampul (Tamil) garike (Telugu) cold infusion stops bleeding of piles

Akshata:—This could not mean the akshata which is rice mixed with a little turmeric powder since both rice and turmeric are separately mentioned as puja dravyam It is probably an incorrect rendering of the word Akshōta which is the sanskrit name for Akrot which grows wild in the Himalayas, and cultivated in Kashmir Tibet and Afghanistan The husks of the fruit, or pericarp possess vermifuge and antisyphilitic properties The ripe fruit possesses aphrodisiac properties

Gandham —This is the same as Srigandham.

The term Gandham in Sanskrit is used for Sitaphal and sandalwood or Srigandham or Chandanam The astringent bark of Sitaphal is said to be used as a tonic We have to assume that by Gandham Srigandham is meant. The wood is cooling sedative and astringent. Medicinally sandalwood is useful in licious fevers The powder of the wood taken in coconut water checks thirst. It is also specific for gonorrhoea

Vishnuparni or Vishnukrānta —The herb is used medicinally in the form of an infusion It is a sovereign remedy in bowel complaints and in fevers attended with diarrhoea or indigestion

Padmadalam:—Tamarai The filaments and flowers are cooling, sedative astringent, bitter,

MEDICINAL VALUE OF OSHADHIS

refrigerant and expectorant. Medicinally the entire plant, the root, flower, stalks and leaves are all useful. The flowers, filaments and juice of the flower stalks are useful in diarrhoea, cholera, in liver complaints and also in fevers. It is a cardiac tonic.

Syamakam :—Tenai (Tamil); Korra (Telugu)

Italian millet (English). It is diuretic and astringent. A popular domestic remedy for alleviating pains of parturition. It has heating properties and if taken solely as food is likely to produce diarrhoea.

Usiram :—(cuscus grass) Vettivēr (Tamil) Kunver (Telugu). Tonic, stimulant, antispasmodic, diaphoretic, diuretic and emmenagogue. Being a cooling medicine, it is in the form of infusion a grateful drink in fevers, inflammations and irritability of stomach.

Takkolam :—It is not known if it is the same as Takoli (*Dalbergia Lanceslaria*, or *D. Froudosa*). The bark, the leaves and the roots are employed medicinally.

Elam :—Truti (Sanskrit), cardamum. Powerful aromatic, stimulant, carminative, and diuretic. Valuable in many stomach complaints, used for relieving giddiness caused by biliousness.

Lavangam :—Cloves. It is a stomachic, carminative aromatic and antispasmodic. Internally increases circulation, raises blood heat, promotes digestion of fatty and crude food, promotes nutri-

tion and relieves gastric and intestinal pains and spasm Stimulates the skin salivary glands, kidneys, liver and bronchial mucus membrane Relieves flatulence

Lamajjakam (Sansk) —**Lainjak** (Hind and Punj) grows in Lower Himalayan tracts, and plains of U P and Sind Fibrous roots and flowers used as a stimulant, diaphoretic in gout rheumatism and intermittent fevers also in coughs and cholera. Purifies the blood The flowers are used as haemostatic

Mura (Sans) —**Marut Kilangu** (Tamil) purgative, heavy, sweet, pungent tonic and cardiacal, a remedy for heat of blood gonorrhoea, tridōsha, thirst, heart disease itch, leprosy fever rheumatism and glandular enlargements

Saileyam (cinnamon) —probably the same as **Saila Myah** (Persia)

Gudetvak (Sans.) —**Lavangappattai** (Tamil) The bark is carminative antispasmodic aromatic haemostatic, astringent anti septic and germicide Infusion useful for dyspepsia flatulence diarrhoea and vomiting As a powerful stimulant cinnamon is given in cramps of the stomach neuralgia tooth ache and paralysis of the tongue As germicide it is used internally in typhoid fever It strengthens the gums and perfumes the breath

Jatamansi (Sans Tamil, Telugu) —Musk root

Aromatic tonic nerve stimulant antispasmodic, deobstruent, diuretic, emmenagogue sedative to

MEDICINAL VALUE OF OSHADIS

the spinal cord Promotes appetite and digestion. Employed in the treatment of hysterical affections, especially palpitation of the heart; nervous headache, chorea, flatulence, etc Useful also in menopause disturbance, hysterocpilpsy, and similar and convulsive ailments

Karpuram:—(Camphor) Diaphoretic, stimulant, antiseptic, antispasmodic, expectorant, sedative temporary aphrodisiac and narcotic. It exhilarates in moderate doses and raises the pulse without producing febrile symptoms, promotes perspiration and sometimes induces sleep.

Koshtam (costus English) **Gostam** (Tamil).—The powdered root is used. It is a tonic, alterative, antispasmodic, and aphrodisiac; as aromatic stimulant in the form of infusion with a little cardamom is used in coughs, asthma, chronic rheumatism and skin diseases, fever and dyspepsia

Champaka:—(Kusuma, Suvarna) **Sampangi**, or **Sampagam** (the golden yellow champa).

The flowers are used as stimulant, tonic and carminative, also as demulcent and diuretic. Infusion of the flowers recommended in cases of dyspepsia, nausea, and fevers in doses of half to two ounces Also useful in preventing scalding in gonorrhoea and renal diseases.

Kumkuma (Skt)—**Kunkumappu** (Tamil) saffron.

Its action is stimulant and stomachic Slightly anodyne and antispasmodic, also emmenagogue,

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Used in small doses $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ grain in fevers, melancholia, enlargement of the liver and in spasmodic cough and asthma. It is given in anaemia, chlorosis and seminal debility, also in rheumatism and neuralgia also to relieve flatulent colic and in amenorrhoea dysmenorrhoea leucorrhoea etc

Haridra —Turmeric, Manjal, Pasupu

Aromatic stimulant tonic and carminative Internally it acts as anthelmintic Useful in cases of flatulence dyspepsia and weak state of the stomach

Daru haridra —Mara manjal Kasturi manjal Kasturi pasupu. Barberry It is a tonic, stomachic astringent anti periodic diaphoretic anti pyretic and alternative Its medicinal uses are many including tinctures Used as infusion also The tincture is much recommended in fevers accompanied by bilious symptoms and diarrhoea enlargement of spleen and liver



CHAPTER X.

TIRUPATI AND SRI GOVINDARAJA'S TEMPLE.

After the downfall of the Pallavas and with the advent of the Chola power Saivism grew in importance and the Vaishnavites to whom the worship of Tiruvengadamudaiyan was all important thought it prudent to abandon gradually the substitute Tiruvilankōil at Tiruchchukanūr and transfer their activities to Tirumalai itself inspite of the difficulties which the pilgrims might have had to undergo. Their object was to avoid all possibilities of a conflict with the growing influential saivite community in the temple of Parāsarēsvara in Tiruchchukanūr. That was possibly one of the reasons for Sāmavai's consecrating the silver image of Manavāḷapperumāḷ (Bhoga Srinivasa) in the Tiruvengadam temple in 966 A D. There might have been another reason also. The Tiruvilankōyil-perumān, the Tirumantrasālai Perumān and even the Tiruvēṅgaḍattupperumāṇaḍigal in Tiruchchukanūr were all proxies of the God in Tirumalai and were all probably consecrated not according to the Vaikhanasa but according to the sister constitution of the Pancharatra to which Sri Alavandar and his ancestors adhered. Therefore it must have been feared that even the temples at Tirumalai and Tiruchchukanur must some day or other come into conflict with each other. It seems therefore to have

been decided that the activities of the Sri Vaishnavas should be transferred to Tirumalai itself. There was however the practical difficulty to overcome in the matter of offering daily abhishekam to the Dhruva Mūrti whose size was too large. The installation of a silver Replica of Tiruvengadamudaiyan (Bhōga Srinivasa) in Tirumalai obviated such difficulties. To provide for the daily puja including Nivēdanam of this Mūrti Sāmavai purchased outright some of the lands belonging to the Tiruchchukanur Tiruvilankōyil and also some lands from the Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanūr. The management of the property and the performance of the Kainkaryams were left to the managers of the Tirumalai temple. Thus no room was left for any possible future conflict between the Vaikhanasa temple at Tirumalai and the Pancharatra one at Tiruchchukanur. We however find that even as late as 1234 A. D. (No 40 Vol I) the hall of the latter continued to be the meeting place for the Sabhaiyar and the Nāṭṭars on important occasions. But the Tiruchchukanur Tiruvilankōyil of Tiruvengadamudaiyan ceased to exist or sank into insignificance. And this may be inferred from the fact that the last endowment therefore was somewhere about 1000 A.D. during the reign of Raja Raja I. (Vol. I. 17) by one Raja Rajamūvēndavēlan. The next endowment for a Vishnu Temple in Tiruchchukanur was about the year 1220 A. D. in the 4th year of the reign of Raja Raja. III, but it was for a Aḷagiya perumal temple by one Pōkkaran Pandiyadarayan.

THE FOUNDING OF TIRUPATI

To the pilgrim however, the difficulties of pilgrimage must have become greater. Before 966 A.D. such of the pilgrims as could not afford to ascend the hill after a ten mile walk from Tiruchchukanur were content with worshipping the proxy Gods in the latter place, and also offering worship at the foot of the hill without ascending it. After the installation of the silver Murti in Tirumalai they necessarily had to ascend the hill. The founding of a new village nearer to the foot of the hill having a claim to sanctity was therefore necessary if pilgrimage to Tirumalai was to be encouraged. The only such village with a name to boast of was Kōṭṭūr. In the southern part of this village there seems to have existed a temple dedicated to Sri Pārthasārathy Swami near which would have resided the family or families of the Archakas who were doing worship in the Tirumalai Temple.

THE FOUNDING OF TIRUPATI.

When about 1130 A. D. Sri Ramanuja (the disciple of Sri Ālavandar and the nephew of Tirumalaianambi) was hard put to finding a place for installing the image of Sri Govindaraja which was extorted by the Chola king from the Chidambaram Temple, he must have thought of the site of this Parthasarathy Shrine as the most appropriate one. This Sri Govindaraja's idol was an ancient one of Chidambaram whose installation at the foot of the Tirumalai Hill would appeal to the spiritual instincts of the Sri Vaishnavanava pilgrims. They

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could make a day or a night halt, partake with propriety such food as the temple could offer, have a bath in the Ālvār Tīrtham at the foot of the Hill and ascend the seven hills of Tirumalai. Thus after an interval of about a century and three quarters from the date of installation in Tirumalai of Manavalapperumal Tirupati was ushered in by Sri Ramanuja (so the tradition says). It was planned by him with the four Rājavidhus a north Māda Street (known at the time as Arvengar Tiruvidhi) and a Sannidhi Street. It was named Ramanujapuram. There is no inscription to tell us what the plan and elevation of the temple in Tirupati looked like at the time. Nor have we any inscription to show the exact year of its construction. From the fact that the shrine of Sri Ramanuja in Tirupati bears an inscription on its west and south base referring to the year 1224 A. D. and that the shrine stands outside the inner gopuram of Sri Govindaraja's temple—next to the Shrine of his uncle Sri Tirumalai Nambi—we have to infer that the inner gopuram and prakaram of the Tirupati Temple were built along with the main shrine during Sri Ramanuja's life time. This inscription in Ramanuja's shrine also tells us, that the daily lighting and flowers for that shrine were the charity of his disciples showing thereby that it might not have been an integral part of Sri Govindaraja's temple. It always had a separate Kartar or manager as in the case of Tirumalai Nambi's temple. As Sri Parthasanathi Shrine had been consecrated accord-

THE FOUNDING OF TIRUPATI

ing to the Vaikhanasa āgama, the consecration of Sri Govindaraja at a later date followed the same āgama. This temple and the small settlement around it however compare unfavourably with Tiruchchukanur village and its temples. There in Tiruchchukanūr we have the Svarnamukhi river and spring channels; and the village was reputed to have as residents a Sabhaiyar of over 108 learned Sri Vaishnava families. Making Tirupati a flourishing village was therefore not an easy matter. It consequently seems to have been made obligatory on every Srivaishnava who was in anyway connected with the Tirumalai temple to own property and to reside in Tirupati. The families of the Vaikhanasa Archakas, the Acharyapurusha, the temple servants and the merchants who supplied provisions to the temple were thus obliged to reside in the new settlement. An inscription bears evidence to this:

The popularity of this new temple would naturally have been in proportion to its financial resources, about which we have no definite information. In 1219 A.D. the queen of Vira Narasingayādaraya presented 32 cows and one bull to provide ghee for one Tirunandavilakku (perpetual light) daily before Sri Govindaraja. From I. 40 (1234 A.D.) we also gather that the management of this temple was in the hands of the managers of the Tirumalai temple, but that it had a separate account of income and expenditure. From I. 86 (1234 A.D.) we further learn that the Yādava

Nāchchiyar (or queen) of Vira Varasīnga made over the second half of Payindipalli village as sarva manya for Śrī Govindarāja (the first half having already become the property of Tiruvengadamudaiyan). The income from this village was to be used for the new Āṇi Brahmotsavam instituted by her, for the preparation of a golden Sīkharam for the four faced car newly constructed by her for the God and for its repairs. Any balance that might be left over was to be utilised for improvements of the temple of Śrī Govindarāja. We conclude from this that the temple from the commencement had separate assets to meet the cost of its amudupadi and sāttuppati. The temple tastik should have been very limited, and when pilgrimage became heavy as during festivals private charity had to come in to augment the normal tastik prasādams. Thus (I 61 1254 A.D.) we are told that some devotees made permanent arrangement in 1254 A.D. for the daily supply of eleven tūmbu of rice per day from the second day to the end of the Vaikāṣi festival. This would have sufficed for about 80 to 100 pilgrims per day. Some residents of Nerku village made permanent arrangements in 1308 A.D. for the feeding of a limited number of Śrīvaiṣṇava pilgrims resorting to the place on certain special days such as Kāśika dvādaśī, Mukkōṭṭidvādaśī, Makara Sankramanam etc. Such small endowments go to show that enough prasādams were not available in the temple to feed pilgrims. There were no Ramanujakūṭams, choultries or mathams

THE BUILDING OF SRI GOVINDARAJA'S SHRINE

in those days. It took at least one more century for such institutions to rise along with the growth in pilgrim traffic. The growth of Tirupati in size and importance was in proportion to the volume of this pilgrim traffic.

THE BUILDING OF SRI GOVINDARAJA'S SHRINE.

It is designedly called here Govindarajā's shrine and not His Temple. There was already a temple of Sri Parthasarathy on the spot and it is not improbable that the gopuram was the one attached to it. This Gopuram is what we now call the inner gopuram. The town of Tirupati had to be formed anew. The word Tirupati, to denote the name of the place, came into use only after Sri Ramanuja planned and gave that name. It might have been a part of the village of Kōttūr originally as already surmised. Sri Ramanuja took it on himself to see that a regular town came into existence and so named it Tirupati—a Tamil name. The portion of the town surrounding the temple came to be known as Ramanujapuram. Somewhere about the same time the Chola King ordered that Sri Govindaraja's Utsava Murti in Chidambaram should be thrown into the sea, as Vishnu's place of Sayanam (resting) was the ocean. This order is believed to be that of Kulothunga I, since we know from traditions that one of Sri Ramanuja's disciples Kūrātālvān behaved impudently before the King by giving a reply to the statement "Sivāt parataram nāsti" saying that the measure 'Drōnam' was bigger than 'Sivam'.

The King's Order to expel the image of Govindaraja from Chidambaram would have been an act of reprisal. We also know that Sri Ramanuja and his disciples forsook the Chola country and found asylum in the Hoysala country for nearly a quarter of a century till the death of Kulothunga I took place in 1120 A.D. So the building of a shrine for Sri Govindaraja should have taken place after 1120 A.D. The idol seems to have been kept in safety in Tirupati during the interval. That the temple was not built exclusively for Sri Govindaraja but only formed an adjunct to the shrine of Sri Parthasarathy, is obvious from a look of the site of the temple as it now stands. There is no main gateway or gopuram in front of the doorway of Sri Govindaraja's shrine.

About the year of construction, Dr S Krishna swami Iyengar in his history of Tirupati (Vol I Chap XI) has gone into much speculation based on vague statements contained in the Guruparampara and the Itihāsamāla accounts. He had even to assume that Sri Ramanuja's life period was from 1050 to 1150 A.D. instead of what is usually stated to be from 1017 to 1137—38. Even if the date and year of his birth could not have been stated with certainty there could be no doubt that the year of his death would have been noted by the Sri Vaishnavas of those days correctly. The date so recorded seems to be given by a chronogram recording and Dr Swami Kannu Pillai has it as the year 1137—38,

THE BUILDING OF SRI GOVINDARAJA'S SHRINE

SRI Ramanuja was not born in obscurity. He was the son of a well-known person Kesava Somayaji, and the nephew and great grandson of the then leaders of the Vaishnavite community. Even if the exact year of birth was not well remembered, it is inevitable that the month and the nakshathra (Chittirai Ārudra) would have been remembered. These are invariably required in connection with the Aksharābhyasam, Upanayanam and other rituals a brahmin youth has to go through. There is no valid authority for the year of Sri Ramanuja's death being shifted by about 13 years. Dr. Ayyangar missed noting a fragmentary inscription on the east wall inner side, south of the first (inner) gopuram in the Tirumalai Temple. This reads in Tamil.

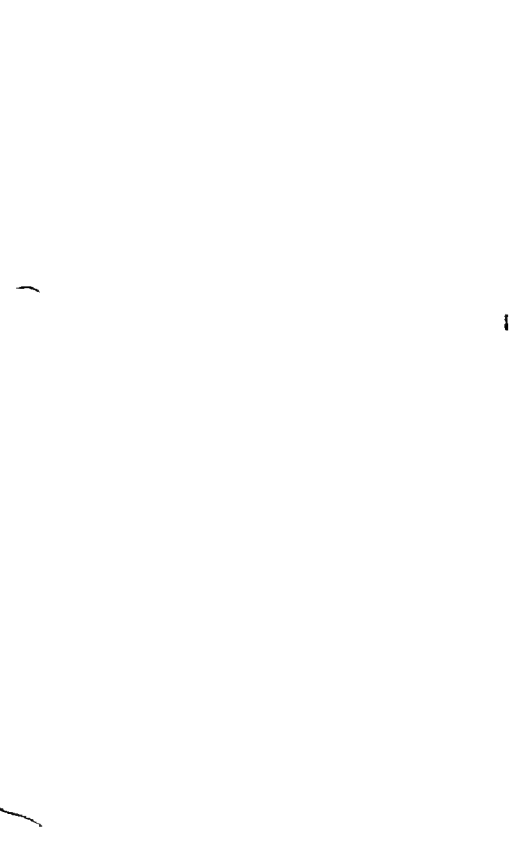
1 āna saumya ஆனாசௌம்ய. 2 torunal தொரு
நாள். 3 Ramanuja ஸ்ரீராமானுஜ. 4. n emperuma(ன்
எம்பெருமா —)

Translated into English :—

- | | |
|-------------|----------------------|
| 1 In Soumya | 2. On a certain day. |
| 3 Ramanuja | 4. Emperumanai |

It makes clear reference to Ramanuja at a period of his life when he bore the honorific surname 'Emperumanār' (or our great mahān). He had under that honorific name become the supreme leader of all Sri Vaishnavas. There are only two Soumya years in his lifetime between 1017 and 1137 A.D. These are 1069 and 1129 A.D. By 1069 his

age would have been only 52 and he would not have attained that eminence which got him to be recognised as Emperumanar. So the only appropriate year is 1129-30 A.D. The inscription is in the Tirumalai Temple and has found its place in a fragmentary state on the east prakaram wall (south side of the inner gopuram). How it happens to be there as a fragment requires some explanation. It was already shown in Chapter VIII (part 2), that the inner gopuram in Tirumalai was constructed after the lifetime of Sri Ramanuja and about the year 1180 A.D. This inscription made in 1129-30 A.D. could not be therefore expected to be anywhere in the gopuram. The prakaram walls of that gopuram were constructed at a later date and are known as the second prakaram walls. There were however the first prakaram walls of the original temple which temple was called Kōyilāṭṭar (Vol I, 88, 1244 A.D.) There were four long inscriptions in the walls of the Kōyilāṭṭar. There were also a large number of inscriptions on the first prakaram walls of that temple. When the reorientation of that temple was executed the walls of the prakaram were demolished to make room for the new walls which encase the Kōyilāṭṭar. The demolition was done recklessly and the stones bearing ancient inscriptions got mutilated. These mutilated stones were used while building anew the first prakaram walls and now line the inner face of the walls, now known as the Mukkoṭi pradakshinam. This has been fully dealt with, in Chapter VIII, part 3.



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There were however several stones which were left loose. Some were used for paving the flooring, some in building the second and third prakaram walls and one is found even in the first tier of the main or outer gopuram. The fragment under reference is one such

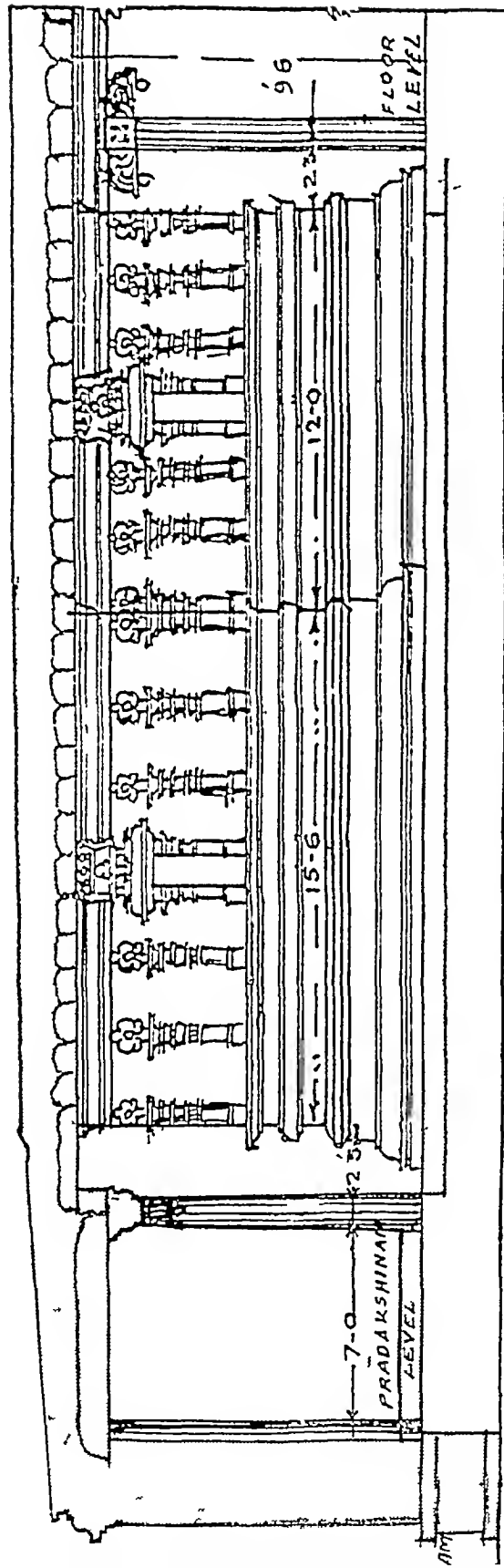
The inference therefore is correct that Sri Ramanuja visited Tirupati and Tirumalai in 1129-30 (Saumya year) He was then 102 years old Tradition also asserts that he visited Tirupati at that age

We may therefore well assume that the shrine of Sri Govindaraja was built some time before 1129-30 and that the Idol was installed in the year 1129-30 A.D There is no need to shift Sri Ramanuja's birth and death dates The Tirumalai inscription referred to gives a clear indication. That the consecration (rather reconsecration) of Sri Govindarajaswami took place in 1130 is confirmed by a verse in the mantrapushpam portion of the daily puja which reads "Phālgunē māsi pūrnāyām uttararkshēndu Vāsarē Gōvīndarājō bhagavān prādurāsīn mahāmunē". Govindaraja Bhagavan is said to have manifested himself on a day when Phalguna Purnami, Uttaranakshatram and Monday were current. Knowing as we do that it was Sri Ramanuja who consecrated the Idol in Tirupati, it must have taken place in some Saumya year (as stated above) during his life time The only Saumya year in which Phalguna month, Purnami tithi and

Uttara nakshatram coincided with a Monday is the 24th February 1130 A.D. In Saumya 1070 A.D. the day Palguna Purnima Uttara was a Saturday and not Monday. There are in all 10 days between the years 1052 and 1147 in which the month, thithi and nakshatra and the week day are the same as above. But only one of these is in Soumya year.

We may therefore with confidence state that Sri Govindarajaswami was installed in the Tirupati temple on the 24th February 1130 A.D., if the tradition that Sri Ramanuja was responsible for the installation is accepted. Phalguna Purnima has since then been observed as a day of Pulangi festival (flower decoration) for Sri Govindaraja.

We have to remember that the Temple with its inner gopuram and prakaram walls appears to have been built for Sri Parthasarathyswami only. The dimensions of the prakaram walls are length 263 feet east to west and width 186 feet north to south and the main gateway (gopuram) is more or less in the centre of the latter and right opposite to the doorway of Sri Parthasarathyswami temple. Whether these were built after the installation of Sri Govindaraja along side of Sri Parthasarathy, or before that event, is a question which we have no means of deciding. An inscription (I. 85) on the door-jambwall, rightside front face of the inner gopuram shows clearly that the gopuram was in existence before 1219 A.D. At the time of the installation of Sri Govindarajaswami in 1130 A.D.



ELEVATION OF GARBHA GRIHAM

ON THE SOUTH

2/ Nagavachan

5 II-1951.

THE BUILDING OF SRI GOVINDARAJA'S SHRINE

the temple of Sri Parthasārathy being the older one would have been the more important one. And it would have continued to be so for some time longer until, for some reason or other, its doors were closed for worship. Its dhvajastambham and balipītham were removed. Now there is no worship in that shrine as the Murti there is said to have suffered some sort of mutilation or defect. It is perhaps the Garudalvar of that shrine who is now found accommodated separately adjoining the prakaram. In this connection it is worth remembering that the inner and the outer gopurams of the Tirumalai temple were built between the years 1180 and 1217 A.D. That seems to have been a period when the Yadavaraya rulers did this kind of service to the temple. It is not unlikely that the gopuram in Tirupati is of the same period.

Then there is the problem of finding out the probable date of construction of the outer gopuram and the extensions of the prakaram walls to the limits of the outer gopuram. We know from an inscription (I. 89) on Sri Ramanuja's shrine that the shrine was in existence outside the limits of the inner gopuram in 1220 A.D. But as the inscription is only on the south and west base of the shrine, it would not go to prove the date of construction of the prakaram wall. In 1220 A.D. Sri Ramanuja's shrine had a private endowment, and did not form a part of the Govindaraja temple.

The earliest inscription (I. 223) we have outside the inner gopuram which can in some manner be

THE BUILDING OF SRI GOVINDARAJA'S SHRINE

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taken to give a clue to the probable date of construction of the outer gopuram and its prakaram walls is the one on the north wall (outer side) of the 'verandah in front of Sālai Nāchehiyar temple which is dated as 21-2-1457. This shrine has the south prakaram wall (connecting the inner and the outer gopuram) as its back wall and therefore shows that the outer gopuram was in existence long before 1457 A.D. The other inscription on the walls of the adjacent shrines are of later date. An inscription on the west north and south walls of the second storey of the outer gopuram (Padikaval gopuram) is dated 8-1-1496. There are a few others of much later date.

We thus see that the construction of the temple structures was a matter of slow and continued progress. Between 1130 A.D., (Govindarajaswami's installation date) and 1219 A.D. (construction of the inner gopuram) there is a period of about 89 years. Between 1220 A.D. (Ramanuja's temple inscription) and 1457 A.D., there is an interval of 23 years. There were of course some endowments during the latter interval for daily food offerings festival celebrations etc. We are also aware that from about 1330 onwards till the Vijayanagar empire stood on a firm basis and Sālva Narasimha took an abiding interest in these temples, the best that could be expected was adequate provision for the daily pujas to be performed. Besides the gopuram and prakaram walls we have a few more structures

intimately connected with and which are essential components of Sri Govindaraja Temple. These are the Dvarapalas on either side of the entrance into the shrine in the Chitra-kūta Mantapam, the shrine of Garudālvār, the Dhvajastambham and Bali-pītham, the shrine of Hanuman and one or two mantapams specially constructed for the use of Sri Govindaraja. These do not appear to have existed in their present form from the beginning

DVARAPALAS, 1549 A.D.

We may be under the impression that these two divine gate-keepers were installed simultaneously with the installation of Sri Govindaraja. But it is not so. They were installed on 18th March 1549 A.D. (Kilaka year. Saka 1470, Mīna month, Bahula Panchamī, Monday) by one Nandyala Nārappārāya who endowed the two villages of Pallipattu in Nagari Simai and Gundipūndi in Anjūr division for offering daily 4 Vellai Tirup-pōnakam food to the installed deities.

Dhvajastambham (Old).

This was constructed by one Raja Sri Ramaji Madarsu Pantulu of Siddalur. The year is not given. Anyhow we have now quite a new gold gilt one

The Big Gopuram about, 1628 A.D.

This gopuram in the Sannidhi Street was constructed by Matla Kumara Anantāya of the Deva Chola family and is one of his numerous and costly acts of charity.

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Hanuman Shrine, 1509 A.D

This was constructed by one Karavattippuli Ālvār Appa Pillai in 1509 (Saka 1431) He arranged for daily food offerings also This temple is at the end of the Sri Govindarajaswami Sannidhi Street and in the Car Street facing the temple

Vasanta Mantapam 1494 A.D

This mantapam which is in front of the outer gopuram was commenced by Van Saṭhagōpa Jiyar of the Ahōbila Mutt, some time before 1494 One Nallār Angāndai took the unfinished mantapam by paying 2000 panam to the Devasthanam as compensation and completed it at his own cost. He made an endowment for the celebration of a Vasanta festival therein.

Mantapam in front of Sri Govindarajas Temple, 1494 A.D

This is perhaps the four pillar mantapam near Sri Vedanta Desika's temple It was constructed by Srlman Mahamandaleswara etc Narasaraja Udaiyar son of Kommaraja Siru Timmaraja Udaiyar who endowed for food offerings therein on several occasions noted in the inscription

Nirali Mantapam, 1506 A.D

One Appa Pillai son of Karavattippuliyālwar one of Krishnadeva Raya's generals constructed a mantapam within the first prakaram and near the kitchen. Water used to be poured round it so as to make it look like a mantapam situated in the midst

of a tank He called it the Nīrālī Mantapam, and made endowments for accommodating the Utsavar therein during the 12 days of the Vaikāṣī festival and likewise during the Anī festival and for food offerings on such occasions. This arrangement was made as, at that period, there was no pushkarini or tank for the temple and therefore no Nīrālī Mantapam This mantapam is still there, but not used for the purpose intended As a Nīrālī Mantapam it was being used till 1512 and perhaps also till 1522 A D.

Govinda Pushkarini (Krishnarayan Koneri) 1522 A.D.

This pushkarini came into notice for the first time in an inscription 1522 A D. One Govindaraja, son of Rāchuraja (one of Krishnadevaraya's officers and brother of the famous Sāluva Timmarasu) built a small shrine for Sri Gopala Krishnaswami on the bank of Govinda Pushkarini and endowed for daily food offerings The pushkarini is again mentioned in 1530 A D and on its banks a mantapam was constructed by one of the temple accountants, Villiyār, for the special use of Sri Andal during her Nīrāṭṭa Utsavam in Margaḷī month It fell into disrepair and was renovated in recent times when the Devasthanam was under the management of the last Mahant Both the names, Govinda Pushkarini and Krishnarayan Koneri refer to this tank.

Chitrakuta Mantapam, 1493.

This is the mantapam in front of the shrine wherein we find the Dvarapalas, and it extends up

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to where Garudalvāre ehirno is located. It is in two parts the one near the main ehirno having the floor higher in level than the eastern half near the Garudalvar ehirno. It may be that the two were constructed at different times, although now they form one structure. Whether the two together were called Chitra Kuta Mantapam in 1493 or whether the one near the main ehirno had that name we cannot be sure of.

Lakshmidēvi Mantapam, 1542 A.D

A Lakshmidēvi Mantapam is distinctly mentioned in 1542 in an endowment by one Gangu Reddi in connection with food offerings to Sri Govindarāja and the Naachilmar after Tirumanjanam on the Kartikai festival day. There was a Lakshmidēvi festival for Sri Govindarāja instituted by one Nami Setti in 1537. The festival contemplated food offerings etc., in the temple and in a mantapam outside the gopuram. We have therefore to conclude that this mantapam was constructed later than 1537. It perhaps is an extension of the old Vasantamantapam already referred to.

The above are the principal structures which may be considered as integral part of the temple of Sri Govindarajaswami.

Financial Status of Sri Govindaraja's Temple, (1130 A.D—1467 A.D)

What the financial position of Sri Govindaraja's temple was after the installation of the Deity

in 1130 and right up to the year 1234 A.D. we are not in a position to state. In the year 1219, the Queen of Vira Narasinga Yadavaraya presented 32 cows and 1 bull for maintaining one Nandavilakku daily. From inscription No. I 40, which mainly refers to the endowment of land in Kottakālvay of Tirukkudāvurnadu for the amudupaḍi and sattupaḍi of Tirumangai Alvar, we incidentally gather that Sri Govindarājaswami's temple had its own resources in the shape of land probably in the same Kudāvūrṇadu, that the produce from Kottakālvay was amalgamated with the income of Sri Govindaraja and that the two were managed by the Sthanattar of Tiruvengadamudaiyan temple. There was therefore income for the daily puja of the temple. In the same year 1234, Sri Vira Narasinga Yadavaraya endowed in favour of Govindarāja's temple half the village of Payindapalle in Kudāvūr nāḍu, the other half being already the property of Tiruvengadam Temple. We thus see that the corpus of Govindaraja's temple was a separate item. The Payindapalle village was earmarked for the expenses of the Āṇi Festival for Govindaraja, first started by Vira Narasinga; also for making a Kūṭam for the four-faced car, and what was left was for improvements to the temple itself. Unless there was ample provision for the daily puja, this arrangement would not have been made for a festival. We also learn from I. No. 90 dated 1255 A.D, that Periyamāmbaṭṭu was a 'Tiruvidayāṭṭam village of Sri Govindaraja. But who endowed this property we

are not told We further learn from I No 98 dated 1308 A.D. that certain brahmins of Nerka village made arrangements for giving rice and other provisions for feeding pilgrims on Kaisika and Margail Dvadasis on Makara Sankramanam and Chittirai Vishu The next endowment that we meet with is in 1397 wherein Mnlial Tiruvenkata Jiyar coupies food offering for Govindapperumai during 10 days of his Adhyayanotsavam, with the singing of Tiruppavai in Tirumalai during Margail month (There was yet no Adhyayanotsavam in Tirumalai) In 1387 Koliikkāvalidāsar made an endowment for a daily offering of one Tirupponakam Fifty years later in 1442 one Karuṇākaradāsar made an endowment for offering one Tirupponakam (food offering) daily to Sri Govindaraja This is the second private endowment for the Deity since the installation in 1130 A.D.

We will therefore be justified in stating that the temple of Sri Govindaraja was an unimportant one till the middle of the fifteenth century A.D. Neither the Chola nor the Pandyan Kings considered it as of any importance. Vira 'Narasinga Yadavaraya was the only ruler who paid some attention to it. We know that the Yādavarāyas disappeared after 1360 A.D. with the death of Sri Ranganatha Yadavaraya None of the Vijayanagar Kings nor any of their generals seem to have paid even a visit to this temple It was only after Sāluva Narasimha the 'Viceroy established himself firmly in Chandragiri with a dominating voice in

the affairs of the kingdom that the Tirupati temple received any attention. Karunakara Dasai's endowment for one Tirupponakam daily made in 1442 was thus the second recognition. There were endowments for festival offerings made in 1445 and 1446 by the Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanur who had become one of the Stanattars of Tirumalai Temple. Emperumanar Jiyar's endowment for one Tirupponakam daily was made on 21-2-1457. Likewise Chenna Kesava Dasai made an endowment for one Tirupponakam in 1450-51. Kollikkavalidasar's endowment for one Tirupponakam was on 24-2-1387 long before even Karunakara dasar's. On 25-8-1454 one Rigvedi Hariappar of Chandragiri endowed for one Tirupponakam and also for feeding 12 brahmins daily. On 7-3-1464 Sottai Tirumalai Nambi Tolappar Ayyangar made an endowment of 7000 panams (the largest one up to that date) for offering every night one appapadi. There was no provision for night offering till then (rappadi). Saluva Narasinga Deva Maharaya endowed the villages of Muppaduveta, Mangoduvelada and Manavuru for offering daily 26 harivana, one appa harivana and one Tirukkanamadai. He also issued an edict permitting the Sthanattar of the temple to distribute amongst themselves the prasadam offered, following the practice in Tirumalai.

We thus see that Saluva Narasinga Deva put the coping stone over the structure which was being slowly built by the efforts of private individuals from 1387 to 1467 A.D. We will see later how one

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Kandādal Ramanuja Ayyangar who came in as a desantari or stranger became his chief lieutenant in all temple affairs. We have already gone a little too far ahead of the history of the Tirumalai temple itself. But it is necessary as Tirupati was intended to be the subsidiary temple to afford convenience to pilgrims before they commenced the ascent of the Hill.

The Govindaraja temple received¹ considerable impetus from Saluva Narasimha till his death in about 1494 A.D. During the reign of the Vijayanagar Kings particularly Krishnadevaraya Maharaja and Achyutaraya Maharaja, there was no royal patronage. But some of the officers under them did much. During Sadasivadeva Maharaja's reign there were unprecedented endowments for Sri Govindaraja from private individuals of all classes and grades. As almost all these endowments are mixed up with the endowments for Thiruvēngadamalaiyan also they will be considered together later. The period after 1467 A.D. was a prosperous one for Sri Govindaraja and continued to be so even after the downfall of the Vijayanagar Empire.

NOTE.—The absence of Dhvajastambham till about the 16th century was due to the temple being an Adhama Madhyama one which according to the Agamas could get on with temporary bamboo pole flag staff installed for each festival occasion. Hanuman Shrine is foreign to the Vaikhanasa Agama. The Dvarapalas are a misfit, the proper ones should be Ganesa and Nagaraja.



CHAPTER XI.

SHRINES ATTACHED TO SRI GOVINDARAJA'S TEMPLE AND OTHER TEMPLES.

There are some shrines inside the enclosure formed by the Inner Gopuram and its prakāra walls. From an inscription which is on the door-jamb wall of the inner Gopuram and which relates to the 15th year of the reign of Vīra Narasingadevar Yadavarayar, we infer that this Gopuram was in existence before 1219 A.D. This Vīra Narasingadeva probably constructed the Padikāvali or outer Gopuram in Tirumalai also about the same year (1217 A.D.) The unconfirmed tradition, however, is that the Govindaraja Temple and the Gopuram were constructed during the lifetime of Sri Ramanuja (i.e., about 1130 A.D.)

Within the enclosure formed by this Gopuram and the prakaram walls there were originally only two shrines, one dedicated to Sri Parthasarathy and the other to Sri Govindaraja. The shrines to saints which are now there seem to have sprung up much later. For we learn that an image of **Tirumangai Alvar** was an addition to the pantheon made in 1234 A.D. and special provision was made for the daily offerings on account of that ālvār. The inscription does not however state that a shrine was built inside the temple. It may be that an idol alone was installed.

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Andai Shrine —Vory near to the shrine of the principal Deity is the shrine dedicated to Sri Andai. The shrine is only a part of the front mantapam screened off by walls. An inscription¹ referable to 1308 A.D., which is on the north wall inner side of the shrine makes it certain that Her shrine was constructed before 1308 A.D. From I 61, 1754 A.D. we learn that Tirumoli was recited regularly on all the days of the Vaikasi Brahmotsavam for Sri Govindaraja and food offerings were made and distributed to the public in that connection. This word Tirumoli may be taken to refer to Nāchiyār (Āndāl) Tirumoli, or the periyā Tirumoli of Tirumangai Ālvār or to Nammālvār Tirumoli or to all the three. But it is only in or about the year 1495 A.D. (because the donor Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyen is described as Manager of Por Bhandaram which he became only on 1-1-1495) that we find that Friday Tirumanjanam was provided for her throughout the year and also special food offerings after procession with Sri Govindaraja and Nachohimār on the Tiruvāḍipūram day. Āndāl was also taken to the foot of the hills to receive the appappadi sent from Tirumalai in connection with the birth day celebrations of Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyengar. Thus it is only from 1495 A.D. that Āndāl emerges into full notice.

Nammalvar Shrine 1287 A.D.

We thus see that Sri Āndāl and Tirumangai Ālvār have both been installed within the Temple,

1 I 98 Saka 1280.

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whereas, Nammālvār's shrine was placed on the bank of the Alvār Tīrtham waterfall. This might have been because in those days there was no Pushkarinī (or sacred tank) attached to the temple and the Alvār Tīrtham was selected for the purpose of bringing water for the daily Tīruman-janam of Sri Govindarajaswami. The waterfall which is now known as the Alvar Tirtham was probably first sanctified by the location of Nammalvar's shrine on its bank. Since then the water from that place might have been brought everyday for the daily puja of Sri Govindaraja, in the same way that water from the Ākāśa Ganga waterfall in Tirumalai is brought for the daily puja of Tiruvēṅgaḍamudaiyān. Although the Gōpuram, Vimānam, Prakaram walls etc, of the Alvār Tīrtham Nammālvār Temple were constructed by one Pallavarāyār or Vāneḍuttakai Alagar, of Tunjalur about 1287 A.D. (the date is inferred from an other inscription in Nandalur, Cuddapah Dt.) the shrine itself should have been older than that of Sri Govindaraja since it is probable that the shrine gave sanctity to the waters of the waterfall. It is also likely that this Nammālvār shrine acted as a landmark for the pilgrims route from Tiruchchukanur before Tirupati was founded.

Kulasekhara Alvar's Shrine-1469 A.D.

We learn that in 1469 A.D. Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyengar, the disciple of Alagiya Maṇavāla Jīyyar erected a shrine and consecrated therein

the image of Kulasōkhara Ālvar right in the open ground to the north of Tirupatī and within Koṭṭūr village limits in 1469 A.D.¹

(There is a Mūla Bōram as well as Utsava Bōram) The preference shown by Ramanuja Iyengar for a Kshatriya Ālvar was probably meant to please his patron Saluva Narasimha who was treated as a Kshatriya. There is reference to a Kulasekhara Ālvār street in an inscription dated 1512 A.D. There was a mantapam in this temple called Kumāra Ramanujaiyyan mantapam.

Periya Alvar Shrine (before 1300 A.D.):

There is an inscription in Tamil Vomba metre L. 177² on the west wall of the Periya Ālvār's shrine at the foot of the Tirumalal Hills (Alipiri or அடிப்படி) from which we may assume that the temple was built during the Chōla or Pandya rule and that its date may be fixed before 1300 A. D., the same as for the Nammālvār shrine near Ālvār Tirtham. The ancient practice was for the pilgrim to take his bath in the Ālvār Tirtham as a purificatory measure and then take the blessings of Periyālvār at the foot of the Hill before commencing the holy ascent. We

1 திருப்பதியில் வடக்கு வெளியில் கோட னைத்
குளசே ஸ்ரீ குலசேகர ஆழ்வர சைவயி ம துடம ஆழ்வா
ராரும் திருவ் திவெஷ்டமும் பன்னி கோயிலும் கடம வித்து
(Saka 1391 or 1469 A.D.)

2 உ சைவப்பலகம் பூவை சகச்சகம் விளவி சற்பதிரியப
தக்கு சற்பொலியூட டாக்கினுள் ஒப்பலக வெள்ளமமை முப்பத
திரண்டமுள் சற்பித்தனன்—மமை வரிதனை உ.

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could affirm that Periya Ālvār's shrine was in existence at the foot of the hill at any rate before 1485, A.D. as an inscription on the wall of the shrine ascribes that date for the construction of the Lakshmi Narasimha's Temple at Alipiri by Sāluva Narasimha Dēva. Periya Ālvār's shrine served as the point where Sri Venkatesvara's prasādams in the shape of appapaḍi, parivaṭṭam, sāttuppaḍi, etc., were and are received with temple honours at Tirupati on the occasion of the Sāttumurai festivals of the Ālvārs.

There is another Periya Ālvār's shrine built by Pedda Mangamma, mother of Tāllapākkam Tiruvengaḷappan on Pedda Chimugu Hill (near Ālvār Tīrtham). There is a third Periya Ālvār Temple located in Sri Lakshminarayanapperumal temple (supposed to refer to the one in the present Govindaraja South Mada Street for which Prativādi Bhayankara Family are the Kartars). These two temples of Sri Lakshminarayana and Periya Ālvār would have come into existence early in the 17th Century.

Thirumangai Alvar shrine in Tirupati (1234 A.D.)

Although an inscription of 1234 A.D. (I 40) mentions arrangements made by the Periya Nāṭṭar, in Kottakālvay village for the pūja of Tirumangai Ālvār, it is not clear from the inscription whether on that date there was a separate shrine for Tirumangai Ālvār and whether it was within Govindaraja's temple itself. We come across other inscrip-

tions to show that a separate shrine existed. An inscription in Tirumalai Temple dated 1328 A.D. (I 99) (east wall outside south of the Inner Gopuram) shows that Mahapradhani Singayya Dannayaka made provision from out of the income of Singanallūr (Pongalūr) for one Tirupponakam (4 marukals of rice) daily for Tirumangal Alvar along with a similar provision for Vira Narasingaperumal in Tirupatī. The inference is that there was a separate shrine for the Alvar in Tirupatī, before 1328 A.D. An inscription dated 1472 A.D., however, makes it clear that the village of Vopaiwasal (on the banks of the Kaveri river) was granted by one Mūvarayar of Viramadakkippatti for the daily offering of two tirupponakam to Sri Venkatesa and for constructing a Pallikondan Tirumantapam and other buildings for Tirumangal Alvar temple in Tirupatī and that Emperumanar Jiyar was made the Manager (Kartar) thereof. Another inscription which is on the north wall of the second prakara of Tirumangal Alvars shrine on the Alvar Tirtham road distinctly shows where the temple stood perhaps from its earliest days of 1234 A.D. The shrine was there on the Alvar Tirtham road and was obviously enlarged by stages. It is now in ruins and blocked up. We find that even in 1547 (8th January) that out of 10 000/- kulis of land granted by the Mahapradhani of Sadasivadeva Maharaja a large part was for the temples, Tirumangal Alvar and Kula sekharā Alvar temples. There were quite a number

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of endowments for this Alṽā as he was one of the most popular of the Alṽars.

Madhura Kavi Alvar Shrine (some time a little before 1543 A.D.)

There is a shrine dedicated to Madhurakavi Alṽār opposite the Kūrathālṽar shrine in the outer precincts of Sri Govindaraja's Temple. We are not in a position to state when it came into existence. The sāttumurai festivals of Sri Nammalvar, Periya Alṽār, Tirumangai Alṽār, Kulasekhara Alṽār, and Udayavar are referred to again and again in our inscriptions. In Nammālṽār's shrine in Alṽār Tītham on the 11th day of the adhyayanōtsavam, the verses called Kanninun-Siruttāmbu of Madhurakavi were being recited. It was done in Nammalvar's shrine only (1514). In another inscription of 1537 A.D. (on 3 base of first gopuram of Sri Govindaraja's temple) there is distinct reference to the five sāttumurai days of the five Alṽars, viz., Nammālvar, Periya Alvar, Kulasekhara Alṽār, Thirumangai Alṽār and Udayavar for each of whom there is a distinct shrine. But Madhurakavi Alṽār is not mentioned.

In an inscription of 1543 (on East wall of entrance gopuram of Sri Ramanuja shrine) there is, however, an implied reference to Madhurakavi's shrine.¹

1. திருவெழிநத திருநாள் பிறபதது பதினோராம நாள் கண்ணினுண் சிறுததாமபுச சிறப்பு—கோவிந்தராஜனும நாச்சிமா ரும ஆழ்வார் ஸநிதிக்கு ஏறியருள் கண்ணினுண் சிறுததாமபு—கேட்டருளி ”

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Here 'the Alvār Sannidhi' could refer to that of Madhurakavi only. The site of the shrine confirms its late origin. In 1553 A.D. Kondaraja's endowment of Nagari village provides 15 Rēkal Pon for 3 days celebration of Madhurakavi Alvār's Adhyayanōtsavam.

Shrines for Alvārs not the work of Sri Ramanuja.

From the details given above it would be clear that not one of the shrines built for the Alvārs, including the one for Sūdikkodutta Nāchchiyār (Sri Andāl) was built during the life time of Sri Ramanuja who is reported to have got the temple of Sri Govindaraja built by a Yādavarāya (Ghattideva or Yādava Narayana). During Sri Ramanuja's life time neither in Tirumalai nor in Tirupati was any Alvār deified inside or outside the temple. The statement that we find on page 80, of the Epigraphical report of T. T. Devasthanam that 'He (Sri Ramanuja) is said to have installed the idol of Sri Govindaraja as well as the images of certain Alvārs in Tirupati' is incorrect. The installation of the images of the Alvārs in Tirupati was the pious act of his followers. It is likely that the deification commenced with the setting up of Sri Ramanuja's image in Tirumalai. Even there, there is no separate worship for him. Next, or perhaps simultaneously, was his deification in Tirupati outside the inner gopuram limits.

Tirumalai Nambi Shrine.

From the topography we have to surmise that a portion of the raised mantapam adjacent to and

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east of the inner gopuram was partitioned off as the shrine of Sri Ramanuja's uncle Sri Tirumalai Nambi. To Sri Ramanuja his uncle's life-long act of self-surrender to carry un-failingly from day to day a pot of water for the Tirumanjanam of Manavāpperumāl and for the puja of Tiruven-gadamudaiyan must have appealed strongly; and who knows that he did not set up an image of his uncle in that mantapam where we find it today.

Shrine of Ramanuja.

We find just by the side of the above and as part of it, the **Shrine of Sri Ramanuja**, a little more pretentious than that of Tirumalai Nambi with an antechamber. The gopuram must obviously have been of a later date, as it jets out of the mantapam line. It must have been built after 1220 A.D., since an inscription of that year is on the west and south base of Sri Ramanuja's shrine. When as may be inferred from the inscription the shrine itself was in need of lamp lighting and flowers before 1220 A.D. a gopuram would not have come into existence. It is also likely that the devoted disciples of Sri Ramanuja held in great esteem his trusted Chela Sri Kūrattālvar and a shrine for him, simple as in the case of Tirumalai Nambi, was erected by screening off a portion of the pillared mantapam.

The Kurattalvar's shrine—some time before 1433 A.D.

There is no means of knowing even approximately the date of construction of Kūrattālvar's

shrine An inscription found on one of its walls (north wall of front verandah) does not give the year But from the word *Āvanikkalari* or office of registration (*gavāṇikkalari*) occurring therein and also on referring to Inscriptions I 205 D and I 204 B which relate to the year saka 1355 (or 1433 A.D.) wherein the same word occurs to connote the registration office, we may safely conclude that the shrine was in existence at least in 1433 A.D., and that it was constructed probably about the beginning of the 15th century A.D.

The shrines of all the *Alvārs* are, it must be noted, outside the inner gopuram of *Sri Govindaraja* temple *Sri Tirumalai Nambi* and *Sri Rāmānuja* take their place just outside the inner (or first) gopuram The installation of the *Alvārs* was a slow and gradual process. The first temple for *Periya Alvār* is at the foot of the hill guarding the ascent. The other temples to him in other places were built later the latest being in *Sri Lakshmi Narayana's* temple in south Madastreet Tirupati *Kulasēkhara* had his temple in the street which bore his name. None of these temples depended on the temple of *Tiruvēngadamudayān* or *Govindaraja* for its maintenance Each had its own *Dharmakarta* and each had endowments for its subsistence But all were affiliated to the main temple of *Tiruvēngadam* In fact the practice grew up of having this affiliation sanctified by a procedure adopted for celebrating the *Adhyayana-nōtsavam Sāttumurai* of each of these *Alvārs*. It

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has been well described in an inscription on the south base inner side of the first gopuram of Sri Govindaraja, in an endowment by one Paradēsi Tiruvenkaṭayyan.¹

The practice, now a long established one is for the morning Tiruvārāḍhanam of Tiruvengadamudayan, in Tirumalai to be finished early in the morning on the Ālvār's Sāttumurai day and then the offered appapaḍi, parivattam, chandanam, betel leaves and nuts transmitted down to the foot of the hill to near Periyālvār's shrine where the concerned Alvar will arrive in procession to receive the prasadams with due honours. They will be conveyed in procession on elephant back through the main streets of Tirupati and then to the Alvār's shrine. The Alvār has his Tirumanjanam and Sri Govindaraja graces the occasion with his Nāchchimar. In the evening there will be a grand procession, the Alvār facing Govindaraja, and being carried backwards as Sri Govindaraja advances forward majestically in great pomp with all paraphernalia, torch light, mattāppu, burusu, adurvedi and other fire works. There will then be distribution of prasadams in Asthānam. All this pomp was a growth of the

1. நமமாழ்வார, பெரியாழ்வார, குலசேகராழ்வார, திருமங்கை ஆழ்வார, உடையவர் இவர்கள் திருவத்தியேனம் திருவாய்மொழி துவக்கத்து நாள திருவேங்கடமுடையான் எதிராகொண்டு சேவித்து திருவேங்கடமுடையான் அமுது செய்தருளி திருப்பதிககு இந்த அஞ்ச ஆழ்வாரர்களுக்கும் இறங்கும் அபப்பபடி இவ்- முகற்றிச் சேலைக்கு—இலை 2000, சந்தனம் பலம் ௫... ..

15th century only. It may also be stated, here that after the Tirumalai, Tirupati temples passed into the hands of the East India Company all the shrines for Alvars were made dependant on the Govindaraja temple. Each Alvar receives a brieket or billa of prasadam from out of the morning food offering made to Sri Govindaraja.

Vira Narasinga Perumal Temple, (1328 A.D.)

Besides the shrines for Alvars there were other shrines or temples constructed from time to time in Tirupati. There was one for Vira Narasingapperumal which came to notice in 1328 A.D. In that year one Mahapradhani Singaiya Dannāyaka made provision in an endowment for daily offering. This temple might have been built by Vira Narasinga Yadava Raya himself or by Tiruvenkaṭanātha Yadavaraya who made over Pongalur (Singanallur) village to the Dannayaka for instituting certain charities. Prasadam used to be transferred from Sri Govindaraja's temple and distributed here for pilgrims (just as in a Ramanujakutam) in the 15th and 16th centuries. The temple became defunct long time ago. The Narasimha Tirtham in Tirupati marks the spot. This Deity is also referred to in an inscription showing Chennakēsa Dasar's food offering of one Tirupponakam each night (I. 224, 1450 A.D.) It was also known as Mēlai Singar Koyil, because it is in the western part of Tiruparti (III. 118, 1517 A.D.)

SHRINES ATTACHED TO SRĪ GOVINDARAJA'S

Salai Nachchiyar Temple—1457 A.D.

The word Sālai (சலை) denotes the temple stores. This Goddess's temple is just opposite to the stores. The real name of the Goddess is Pundarikavallit-tāyār. The date of construction has to be guessed from the fact that on the north wall of the Verandah of the temple (outside) is an inscription dated 2-2-1457, which is the earliest one on its walls. It must have been therefore constructed sometime before 1457. The Vaikhanasa Archakas are its dharmakartas. It is now a part and parcel of Srī Govindaraja's temple. The next inscription which is on the east wall (outside) in the front verandah is nineteen years later in date. The third was on 9-5-1476.

Sri Narasimhaswami Temple at Alipiri. 1485 A.D.

The consecration of this temple is inscribed on the east wall of Periya Alvār's Temple at Alipiri and dated 20-4-1485. It was constructed by Srīman Sārvabhauma Narasimha (the famous Sāluva Narasimha) the son of Srī Vira Gundākshīpati at the foot of the pathway over the Seshadri Hill. It is presumed that it was built to commemorate Sāluva Narasimha's becoming the defacto emperor of Vijayanagar. It is now one of the languishing temples in Tirupati. In an inscription of 1544 A.D. it is described as திருமலை வழி காட்டி சிவகா கோயில். There is another Nalasinga Perūmal installed in Kāthārī Hanuman temple by Tallapakkam Tīrūmalai Iyengar.

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PERIYA RAGHUNATHA S (SRI RAMA S) TEMPLE IN TIRUPATI—1480-81

The inscriptions II 73 and 74 which record the building of this temple and the consecration of Sri Raghunatha are found on the north wall of the front maatapam of Kūrattālvara's temple. The deity came to be known as Periya Raghunatha owing to another Raghunatha having been subsequently installed in 1488 in Sri Ramanuja's temple (inside Sri Govindaraja's temple) by one 'Tiruninra ūr Udayar Vignasvara Srīman (No 88 Vol II 1488). The name of the donor of the former is Narasimharaya Mudaliar and it was built for the spiritual benefit of Saluva Narasimharaya Udayar.

Some lands were endowed by Narasimharaya Mudaliar of Tirupati which accounted for a daily ration of 6 marakkals of rice, ghee 3 ulakkus, green gram 3 ulakkus, pepper 2½ Soliga, செலிகு 2 marakkals, Ghee 1 ulakku, 1 nali of salt pepper, vegetables, curds, 10 palam jaggery, 10 arecanuts, 20 betel leaves etc., also provision for celebration of Tiru kartikai festival 6 marakkal rice etc. Thus it started as an entirely private temple quite independent of Sri Govindaraja's temple. Inscription No 74 of 1481 A.D. mentions that one Narasimharaya

1. தருவதி தருவாய உடைவதற்கு யாமனாக திருப்பதி-
பணம் துடநு கோவிலும் கடவுள்தது எருததனை

2. பூதிசெழுந்த பணவரி கிணையிய

The year of construction is probably 1481 (9th Oct.) which was Monday Sravana nakshatra seventh lunar day Pava Thila.

SHRINES ATTACHED TO SRI GOVINDARAJA'S

Mudaliar, living in Kumāra Ramanujapuram, Tirupati, was alone entitled to receive the prasadam. It was therefore independent of the control of the Sthanattar of Sri Govindaraja temple. It is however, seen that in 1497 the Sthanattar accepted an endowment of 1200 panam made by one Ēkāki Perumāldasar (who installed an image of Sri Ramanuja in Periya Raghunatha's temple on that date), for certain offerings to Periya Raghunatha first and then to Sri Ramanuja, II 137 dated 3-61497. Thus the temple within 17 years of its consecration came under the management of the Sthanattars of the Tirumalai temple. Even prior to this a connection was forged between Sri Govindaraja's temple and this one by a new festival instituted by one Anirangadāsar Andapperumal Sokkannan,¹ when Sri Govindaraja during the Vīdayatṛi (விடயாத்திரி) day of his Anī and Vaikasi festival proceeded to Periya Raghunatha's temple and had his tirumanjanam or bath there along with His Nachchimar (நெருஞ்செந்நெய்). This Mangalāsāsanam (மங்களாசாஸனம்), in Sri Vaishṇava parlance, elevated the status of the Raghunatha temple where the Tirumanjanam took place. The festival was duly recognised by the Sthanattar as shown by the inscription.

In an endowment III 118, 27-11-1517 A D by Dharmapuram Sittamu Seṭṭi (merchant of Narasingapuram, Tirupati) we find that food offerings were arranged for Periya Raghunatha along with those

1. அணி அரங்க அண்டப பெருமான சொக்கண்ணன்.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

for Sri Venkatesa and Sri Govindaraja and others. There is also an endowment by Kōy'lkōlvi Vada Tiruvenkada Jiyor for Sri Venkatesa, Venkatat-turaivar and Periya Raghunathan for food offerings another by Mandalam Ayyangar of Prāntur. A wooden car for the car festival of Periya Raghu natha was constructed by Kumara Ramanuja Ayyangar (IV 1,1530 A.D.) for the spiritual benefit of Sri Vira Aohyutharaya Maharaja. Thus within 50 years of its existence this temple became famous, had its own festivals and got attached to the main temple of Tiruvōngadamudaiyan. There was Adhyayanōtsavam for Sri Raghunatha instituted by one Uddandarayar Ulagappan with food offerings on the tuvakkam (commencement), 6th day and Sattumurai day. Pachchai Lingusetti endowed for one tiruvolakkam food offering on 7th festival day. There was tiruppalli Ōda tirunal for one day mentioned in Rama Bhattar's endowment of 1532 A.D. An endowment by Tallapakkam Siru Tirumalai Ayyangar was made in 1547. There was also a hunting festival for one day instituted in 1547. Kodai festival was started by Yataraja Jiyar in 1540. The Brahmotsavam of Sri Periya Raghu natha and the car festival are referred to in an endowment by Venkaṭatturaivar son of Malaininṇa Bhattar dated 26-11-1545.

Another Sri Raghunatha.

There is another Sri Raghunatha said to have been installed by Ramabhattarayan in 1535 in Tiru vēnkaṭapuram in western part of Tirupati.

SHRINES OF RAGHUNATHA AND HANUMAN

It will be seen that the endowments for the temple were after all neither numerous nor plentiful. There were no benefactions by the king or by his ministers, generals and other dependents.

Yet another Sri Raghunatha is said to have been installed by Narayana Dasari Nayakkar on the banks of the Govinda pushkarini in 1606 A D

The one temple of Sri Raghunatha (Periya Raghunatha) which is in a flourishing condition to this day is the one now known as Sri Rama's temple with its gopuram, large prakaram, a wooden car, car mantapam etc, and which was built in 1480-81 by Narasimharaya Mudaliar. At the commencement it was purely a private benefaction having no claim on the Tirumalai Devasthanam. Within 17 years of its existence it came under the purview and protection of that Devasthanam. But it continued to retain its independant status in that although it has been working according to the Vaikhanasa Agama, its archakas are different and therefore also its Sthanikas. It is only on a few occasions that the Acharya Purushas and the Jiyyangals receive honours there. The temple during the management by the East India Company became a component part of the main Devasthanam.

Hanuman Shrine—Tirupati, 1491 ?

The shrine to the east of the big gopuram of Sri Govindaraja situated in the car street may not be as old as the temple of Govindaraja. The Agamas

done - must be that a shrine for Hanuman is a necessary adjunct to a Vishnu temple. The first mention of the shrine is found early in an inscription of the Vijayanagara Emperor Appayana (one of the Salivahara or Vikramaditya) made probably even before his coronation at Hampi in Sri Govindaraja when he was taking a tour. He visited a shrine at Thiruvannamalai. It is clear from the variety Tirumangaiyam of an inscription about 100 years in the inscriptional material known at Alvar Tiruchanaimalai (Ramanujaswami Temple) which mentions a Shivalinga destroyed by fire in the 16th century Saturday about the year 1410 A.D. (1897). In what year a temple was constructed on the site we have it now, may be ascertained from an inscription dated (Saturday 17th 1410 A.D.) on the Venukudi of the P.W.D. No. 6 T1 wherein it is stated that one Kara Vattaputti Karanthur of the temple had consecrated the image of Hanuman (presumably the one attached to the Indrayani temple). This Hanuman is probably not the one given some offerings shown in No. 179 Vol III C-11-1728. The latter might refer to the Hanuman temple on the way to Alvar Tiruchanaimalai. Saturday Tirumangaiyam and food offerings were provided for by Kuppaiyann (temple accountant) about 1410 A.D. Sri Govindaraja was offered a purappavaya prasadam when he visited Hanuman's shrine in Chittirai month.

There is also reference to the installation of Sri Vittalesvaraswami in the temple of Ilnuman (V 66 1546 A D) (opposite to Govindraj's

temple)¹ This installation and all the benefactions for the worship of Viṭṭalesvara were made by Udayagni Devaraja Bhaṭṭai (private secretary of Poṭṭalapāti Chinna Timmaraja, Maharaja of the Aravidu family). Govindaraja sannidhi Hanuman is also referred to No 128—Vol. V no date One Noytamma Narasaiyan is stated to have consecrated a Hanuman in the temple built by him on the banks of Govinda pushkarini We have no trace of this There are some more Hanumans mentioned incidentally in some of the inscriptions whose identity cannot be traced. But almost all of these have disappeared except the ones attached to Sri Govindaraja's and Sri Periya Raghunath's temple and the Kattari Hanuman on the way to the Alvār Tirtham.

Govinda-Krishnan Shrine, 1543 A.D.

We learn that in 1543 one of the temple accountants by name Tiruvanantālvāi Kuppaiyan purchased a piece of land in the Bhāshyakar Agraharam (Ayyangar Tiruvithi) Tirupati from a Tiruppanipillai, constructed a temple thereon, installed Govinda Krishnan and by an endowment of 1500 panam to Sri Govindaraja, made provision for food offerings being sent from that temple daily to this Govinda Krishnan (V 6). A second endowment of 2210 panam was also made by the donor in 1545 (V 58). The temple is not in existence now.

1. கோவிந்தராஜன் திருவீதியில் அனுமான கோயிலுக்குள் அடி. ஏறி அருள்ப பண்ணிவித்து ...விட்டலேஸ்வரப் பெருமாளுக்கு.....”

Tiruvankata Gopala Krishna Temple 1546 A D

A few years later in 1546 A D we find that another ancient Perambalaya constructed a temple for Tiruvankata, Krishna in a main temple at the entrance of the town. Harshiyakar Tiruvithal and male and female of 2 to panams for daily food off against 1000 every night from Sri Govindaraja temple. Provision for lighting and for Tiruvankata for all the 13 Bhakti Sakshita of the year and various devotions were made jointly by all the devotees in temple according to

Gopala Krishna Temple 1522 and 1537

The first Gopala Krishna installed in 1537 by Ramanatha Raya Krishna in his toppa (grove) in Tirupati Vaidityapuram. The translator of the inscription constructed Vaidityapuram to be Tiruchi chukana. But there is no authority for this. Raghavaji Govindaraja brother of Saluva Timmaraju constructed a Gopala Krishna Temple on the bank of Sri Govindaraja. Govinda Pushkarini and an offering of four tirupponakum daily was arranged by him for the God (151-1532 A D). Neither of them exist today. Perhaps the Krishna Vighnam in the temple of Manavalanmani is one of them.

Lakshmi Narayana Perumal

There are two such temples. One was consecrated by Tallapakkam Periya Tirumalai Ayyangar in the

1. பரதேச (பு-க) கல் புதிர் கல்புத்தி கல்பு
குடிசு கல்பு கல்பு கல்பு கல்பு கல்பு கல்பு கல்பு
கல்பு கல்பு கல்பு கல்பு கல்பு கல்பு கல்பு கல்பு
கல்பு கல்பு கல்பு கல்பு கல்பு கல்பு கல்பு கல்பு
கல்பு கல்பு கல்பு கல்பு கல்பு கல்பு கல்பு கல்பு

Tirthavari mantapam in Alvar Tirtham in Tirupati, V 68, 20-6-1546 A D , after making due provision for lighting and vellai tirupponakam food offering to be made daily and also on all Tirthavari Days of the Brahmotsavams for Sri Govindaraja and also for Achyutaperumal floating festival, sankra-manams, etc

The other temple is the one which is in a dilapidated condition in G. south mada street and mentioned as an endowment by Prativadi Bhayankaram Alagar-ayyengar Annangaracharya in 1636 A.D.¹ The festivals and endowments connected with this temple are recent ones There is now a Venugopalaswami in Alvar Tirtham which is nowhere mentioned in the inscriptions.

Achyuta Perumal Temple.

The precise date of construction of the temple and the consecration of Achyutaperumal are not mentioned anywhere One Nāmi Settīyar of Krishnarayappattanam (near Chandragiri) made an endowment of 1230 panams, IV 92, 1537, saka 1458, for hunting festivals for Govindaraja and Achyutaperumal There is an endowment for offering tirupponakam etc , for Achyuta perumal in Tirupati (IV 108, Vīlambi 1538 A.D) Achyutaraya's inscription on the gopuram of that temple tells us that he paid '400 panam to Sri Venkatesa's Temple to purchase the land for building Achyutapperumal temple and for construction of the agraharam of 100 Brahmin houses round it in Kottur village, etc We find also that provision for food offerings to

this God were made in a number of inscriptions Achyuta pēttai in Tirupati is also mentioned But it did not flourish for any length of time after the death of Achyutaraya Maharaya The ruins of the temple and gopuram stand as ancient monuments and the temple is known as Pettai Gudi (a contraction of Achyutapettai Gudi)

Nathamuni Temple—late in 16th Century

The first mention of Nāthamuniḡal is in No 241 Vol IV (neither date nor name of donor available) mentioning (along with the offerings to Sri Venkatesa) one aṭirasappadi to Nāthamuniḡal of Tirupati in Tirupati Vol VI 12 (18-4-1596) mentions a Nathamunipuram where in front of the house of one Nayanarayyangaṛ Sri Govindaraja was offered a vadaipadi The next mention is in 1636 in an endowment by Prativadi Bhayankaram Annangarachariar which provides that on every Sri Rama Navami day two dosai padi prepared in Govindaraja temple had to be taken to Sri Nathamuni Temple and offered to Chakravarti Tirumaganar (Sri Rama) in Nathamuni street The temple must have come into existence late in the 16th century A.D. and the street also

Tirukkachchinambi Shrine 1596 A.D (VI. 12)

In a stone mantapam in the Vyāpāri Street (now known as Beri Street), Tirupati one Silambi dayār setti of Ramapuram village installed on 19-4-1596 the idol of Sri Varadaraja Perumal Nachchimar and of Tirukkachchinambi. The shrine is

known as Tirukkachchinambi Sannidhi. He made endowments of land for the puja etc., of the deity and the Nambi. Along with Sri Ramanuja, Tirukkachchinambi was one of Alavandār's disciples. The temple is being well maintained

Varadaraja Perumal.

There is an older Varadaraja Perumāl in Tiruchchukanur and the village of Tiruchchukanur itself was known as Varadañāapuram at one time¹. No 157 Vol IV-13-2-1541 refers to food offerings to Varadarāja on the occasion of car festival, tirthavai tuppali ōdam and Uīadī, all in front of the donor's house (Chettalur Sūnivasayyan). The same inscription makes endowments for Sri Venkatesa Sri Govindaraja and Alagiya Perumāl. Whether the Varadaraja and Alagiya Perumal refer to the Deities in Tiruchchukanur is not specifically stated. Some of the food offerings to Varadarajaswami mentioned in No 99 Vol V 17-8-1547 may be taken to refer to this God although the word Tiruchchukanur is not mentioned explicitly.

Varadaraja Perumal is not mentioned in any of the previous inscription whether in Tirupati or in Tiruchchukanur. There are two other Varadarajas (one in Sri Vedanta Desikar's shrine and the other in Sri Manavala Mahamuni's). But both those shrines do not belong to the inscriptional period; they belong to a much later period. There is a Mainji Varadarajaswami in the Govindaraja temple

¹ திருச்சாநூர் ஸ்ரீநாமமான வரதராஜ புரத்தில (V 66, para 13, 1546 A D)

now, but whence He came we do not know. The Varadarajaswami in Tirumalai has never had a separate festival.

Nammalvar Temples. (Two in number)

Alvar Tirtham Nammalvar

It was already stated that one Pallavarayar of Tunjalur (Vānedutta Kaialagar) constructed the Temple vimanam and prakaram walls of the Nam mālvar shrine on the bank of the Alvār Tirtham. This donor lived some time about 1287 A.D., as is inferred from the date of other inscriptions to his credit in Nandalur (pages 69, 79 of Vol I of T T D inscriptions) ¹

Another inscription I 58 in Sanskrit Grantha characters also in the same shrine tells us that a certain Muni lives there' on the bank of the lake (ശ്രീമദ്ഗു) and that realising that the present age

1 This inscription L. 67 about 1287 A.D. on the inner west wall (outer side proper right) of the shrine reads ஹஹுரி அழ
வருடைய லிமனமும திருமனடபமும மலரினதும் திரு
நாருடையன வத் எடுத்த கை அழகியான பலவாயா பாரும்

2. ஹரி : : அழகுத்தவதாந்நுடவரிவாடு

—காபி தவிர !

சாதினெருகப்பரிந்துவிவரத்தி ருத்திடுக—

வடுதலா

காமராசர் கவிஞராகிதம்—

الم

ഗുണമധ്യം

நிவாரணத்தவரவரையுடைய—

புதுவட்டி

SHRINE OF ALVAR TIRTHAM NAMMALVAR

is ruffled by kali he, who has attained Divyagnanam initiates us with compassion into Brahma vidya. The Muni's name is not mentioned nor is the name of the lake (tatavarai). But from No 57 referred to above we infer that the muni referred to is the Alvār (Nammālvār). From the language of Para 9 of No. 83 Vol II, 6-6-1485 (Govindaraja temple inscription) which enumerates the endowments made by one Nallār Angāndai it appears that Periyālvār, Nammālvār, Tirumangai Alvār, Kulasekhara Alvār and Udayavar on the occasion of their Sāttumurai day, during their respective Adhyayanotsavam in Tirupati, received from Tirumalai one Appapadi prasadam in the Vasanta mantapam of Sri Govindaraja. The presumption, therefore, would be that on the Sāttumurai Day of his adhyayanotsavam Nammālvār was taken to this Vasanta mantapam in Sri Govindaraja's temple along with Sri Govindaraja for the Sāttumurai function where the appapadi was offered. This was in 1485 A D, when Alvār Tirtham Nammālvār temple was in a flourishing condition.

It is natural to presume that the idol of Sri Nammālvār was brought in procession to Sri Govindaraja temple. The details of the etiquette of these Sāttumurais will be described presently. Again a Tirumalai Temple inscription dated 4-12-1494, states (among the endowments relating to temples in Tirupati) that Nammālvār, Kulasekhara Ālvār and Tirumangai Ālvār were offered one appapadi each on the day of Sattumurai while sea-

ted in the mantapam in Narasimharayapuram built by one Sarann Setti, one of the nagarattār residing there. This offering would have been made in the course of the street procession of Nammalvar along with Sri Govindaraja. There are inscriptions of a like nature on pages 344-345 of Vol. II whose dates are not given as the inscriptions are incomplete ones. Again one Pappusetti Ayyan of Narasingarayapuram made provision among other items in Tirupati, for three atirasappadi on three days of the Sāttamurai of Nammālvārs Adhyayanotsavam. This must also refer to Alvār Tīrtham Nammālvār as the function was held in a mantapam constructed on land near Tirumangai Ālvar temple and belonging to it. One Yatiraja Jiyar came forward in 1514 A.D. as the Kartar (manager) of Nammālvār shrine (the inscription is on west wall of Nammālvār shrine near Ālvār Tīrtham and accepted an endowment of 150 paṇams by one Pattarpirān Ayyan one of the Sāttada Ekaki Sri Vaishnavas for one tiruvōlakkam food offering on the 11th day of Nammālvārs Adhyayanotsavam in the month of Maṣi. It is clear from the inscription that this temple had its own treasury account. In 1517 we find that one Dharmapuram Sittam Setti provided one appapadi to be presented in the mantapam in Kulasekhara Alvār temple Tirupati on the 6th day of Nammālvārs Adhyayanotsavam. There was food offering provided by Srīman Narayana Jiyar of the 'Van Sathagopan Matham on the 9th day' festival. Pattarpirān Ayyan provided in 1523 food offering

SHRINE FO RAMANUJA KUTAM NAMMALVĀR

on 7th and 8th day festivals every year. This Nammālvār was given landed property in Elaman-diyaṁ village, known as Nammālvār Paṭṭaḍai. The same Paṭṭarpīraṇ Ayyaṇ made another endowment in 1535, of 150 panam for Tīrupallī-eluchchi-offerings during Margalī month. Paradesī Tīruvenkatayyaṇ endowed in 1537, 460 panams for bringing from Tīrumalai to Tīrupatī appapaḍi, parivattam etc., for the Tīruvadhyaṇatanuvakkam function, of the five Alvārs including Uḍaiyavaṇ and Nammālvār. These endowments clearly indicate that this Nammālvār temple did not depend on the Govindaraja temple for its existence. Provision for food offerings on the 2nd and 6th days of Nammālvār's Adhyaṇanōtsavam in Tīrupatī was made by one Pēṇaṇḍalayaṇ, in 1541. One of the items of expenditure shown in Vengapūṇam Narayana Setti's endowment of 48,900 panams made in 1544 was for cleaning the mantapam in Nammālvār's temple. This leads us to suspect that the temple was not in daily use to any large extent in the 16th century. There was however a car festival also for this Nammālvār during the Sāttumurai day of his adhyaṇanotsavam, when the car circumambulated his shrine.

Ramanuja Kutam Nammalvar.—the rival temple.

About this time *i.e.*, 1544 A.D., a rival temple of Nammālvār was built in Bhashyakar Agraharam (now G. North Mada Street) Tīrupatī by one Araviḍu Kondaraja (son of Mahamandalesyara Araviḍu

Ramaraja Konēṭiraja) This Kondaraja made a grant of ten villages yielding an annual income of 5713 rēkai pon for feeding Sri Vaishnava pilgrims in the Ramanujakutam attached to this Nammalvār shrine. The inscription (V 125,) dated 2-10-1550 gives full details of the nature and kind of food—nearly 500 marakals of rice were consumed daily. Again we find that the same donor made in 1552 A.D (V 133) grand and elaborate arrangements for the celebration of the Adhyayanōtsavam Sattumurai of Udayavar and Nammālvar. Over and above this the same donor made another endowment in 1553 (V 141) for the celebration of a 12 days festival for Nammalvar costing 126 rēkhai pon and 6½ panam per annum, also for the car festival of Sri Govindaraja in the month of Ani and for the celebration of the Sattumurai of all Alvars and Acharyas in his Ramanujakutam Nammālvar shrine. For all these purposes, he gifted away Nagari village and Vīdugramam yielding an annual income of 400 rekhai pon.

Rivalry between the two temples.

Where was the necessity for this rival Nammalvar temple we would naturally ask. This Temple eclipsed the older and the better located one. We can only guess the reason. The kartar of the older temple was the Tengalai Jīyyengar while the manager of the younger one at the time was one Tirumalai Nambi Srīramayyengar, a member of the Vadagalai Tirunalai Nambi family. The members of the family of the Aravidu and Matla rajas were

TIRUPATI AND ITS SUBURBS

the disciples of the Tirumalai Nambī family. The Jiyangar and the Tirumalai Nambī family were holding high religious status in the temple. If they had been less sectarian all these endowments would have been lavished on the Ālvār Tīrtham Temple only. The result of this rivalry was that in course of time both the temples lost their importance. Nammālvār is now in the small room in Govindaraja Temple along with the other three Ālvārs. But his annual festival continues to be celebrated.

Tirupati and its suburbs.

We have so far noticed almost all the minor temples constructed in the suburbs of Tirupati and in the main temple of Govindaraja also. The suburbs which came to notice are **Bhashyakar Agraharam** within the four main streets or Raja Vithis of Tirupati, **Srinivasapuram** containing the temple of Vīra Narasingaperumal, **Raghunathapuram**, containing the temple of Periya Raghunatha, **Tiruvēkatapuram** which must have been adjacent to Srinivasapuram, there is also one **Narasingarayapuram** in the west, **Achyutarayapuram** containing the temple of Achyutaperumal and **Nathamuni Agraharam**. There is also a **Vadīrajapuram** mentioned in the 16th century with Narasimhaswami temple. It is not possible to demarcate these suburbs at this distance of time. They only serve to give us an idea of how the small settlement of Bhashyakar Agraharam extended its limits from time to time. The Periya ērī which came to notice in 1260 A.D.

was practically the southern limit and the foot of the hills and ālvār Tīrtham the northern limit. On the west Siddhakkuṭṭai and Narasīngarayapuram may be considered the limits, to the east the village would have been only what it is now for there have been spring channels and wet cultivation there.

For a Vishnn temple a pushkarini (or sacred tank) is a necessity Water for Tirumanjanam (holy bath) and Puja has to be brought daily in procession to the temple On the 9th or Tirthavari day of the Brahmotsavam the function of Ohakrat-talvar (Sri Sudarsana) sanctifying the water for a bath has to take place in a pushkarini We have so far seen that there was only one such place from which water (from the water fall) could be brought This is now known as Alvar Tirtham There it ran from time immemorial long before the temple of Sri Govindaraja was ever thought of

ALVAR TIRTHAM—TRUPATI¹

The earliest inscription I. 20 found on the bank of this pool of water formed by the water fall, is on the door jambs of a shrine (now known as Kapilēs varaswami Templo) The inscription does not give the name of the shrine, nor is there any mention of the water fall near which the shrine stands. There is no date furnished. It reads in Tamil ' Svasti Sri

1 ஸ்வஸ்தியைச் சேர்ந்த உடம்பை நாய நாயென்றுச் சொல்லுதல்
பிரமம் நாயை முன்புதான் எழுப்பித் திருமணிக்க

Kottū Uḍaiyān rāyan rajēndra Sōlanāna Pirama māiāyan Munaiyatarayan eḍupṭitta tīrupaligai". It would be translated as "Hail, prosperity; this blessed abode (திருமாளிகை) raised (எழுந்த) by Kottūr Uḍaiyān (or proprietor of Kottur) Rāyan Rajendra Cholan (அன்) also known as Brahmarayan Munaiyatarayan". If it was meant to be the temple of a God some indication would have been given by the use of a word like (Koyil) and the name of the deity. We give credit to the fact that the inscription relates to the reign of Rajendra Chola—I or Rajendra Chola—II. The former reigned from 1013—1045 A D and the latter 1070—1122 A D. The second Rajendra Chola assumed the name of Kulottunga—I in later years. We can safely put this inscription to 1070—1075 A D. The Devasthanam epigraphist translates the word "திருமாளிகை" as "Blessed Tabernacle" which requires explanation. In the Vaishnavite as well as Sarvite, paribhāsha or refined language the dwelling house of a great or learned person is invariably called "திருமாளிகை" whereas that person himself in similar paribhāsha would call it "குடிசை" (hut). The word tabernacle seems to have no equivalent in any of the Indian languages. Tabernacle of the Jews was the altar on which burnt offerings were made. The nearest equivalent will be "Koyil" (or Koyil Alvai according to Sri Vaishnavas). We can understand this somewhat better when we refer to inscriptions I, No 57 and 58 in the Nammālvār temple close by. Both are on the bank of this very

(water fall) pond Inscription No 57 is on the inner side of the west wall of the Nammālvār shrine This temple or shrine was renovated by one Pallavarayar or Vānednttakaiyalagar, whose date we infer from some Nandalur inscriptions to be about 1287 A.D and therefore more than two centuries after the former one,¹ which translated would read "vimanam mantapam and the māligai the (entire structure inclusive of prakaram walls, gopuram etc) are the dharma (charity) of Pallavarayar or Vānednttakaiyālagar of Turijalur in middle third of Milalai kūṟam in the Pandyanādu The Devasthanam epigraphist here translates māligai as 'sanctuary (not tabernacle) The word 'திருமாளிசை' would comprise the entire structure as we understand the paribhāsha common to us. Inscription No I 58 which is also in the Alvār shrine is in Sanskrit (grantha characters) and states that on the banks of the tank (தடவசிலசே) at the foot (of the hill) a Muni lives The inscription being in Nammālvār shrine we take it to refer to that Muni or it may by a stretch of imagination be taken to refer to a muni or some great person who lived in the திருமாளிசை which Brahmarayan munanja Darai yan raised on the bank of the tank about 1070 A.D as per inscription I 20

What we have to note in both the inscriptions is the use of the word திருமாளிசை as referring to the

1 It reads in Tamil திருவருடைப லிமாணமும திருமண்டப மும மாளிகையும் பாண்டிமண்டல மிதுவை உற்பத்தி பண்டி யரால் ௧௧-ஆம்

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abode of a great person or a highly venerated man and not to the sanctuary of God. And Munaiyadarayan does not state that he raised the structure for any God. The Tirtham or pond is neither mentioned nor named as Kapila Tirtham; nor is the shrine called Kapilesvara's temple. Nor do inscriptions No. 57 and 58, give the Tirtham a name. But we must inevitably admit that the water source for the daily Tirumanjanam and Puja of Sri Govindaraja from the date Sri Ramanuja installed the Mūrti must have been this Tirtham, by whatever name it might have been called, for there was no tank then near Govindaraja's temple. In the absence of any name to be found in our inscriptions we will be justified in presuming that it may have been named Alvār Tirtham, whether the word Alvār referred to Nammālvār or the Sudarsana or Chakrattālvar of Sri Vishnu who sanctified the waters.

In No. 29 Vol. II (May-June 1467) reference is made to a festival (assumed to be Upakarmam day) when Sri Govindaraja with Sri Devi and Bhu Devi had Snapana Tirumanjanam in the waters (of the tank) and thus sanctified the waterfall. The inscription is in Govindaraja temple but the reference is made to Alvār Tirtham waters as the Upakarmam takes place only on the banks of the Alvār Tirtham even to this day. But the inscription does not give the name of the tank. The Govinda Pushkarini was not in existence in 1467. The inscriptions which give us a clear understanding are No. 8, 9 and

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IV, 13-7-1535 states' (Govindaraja bestowing the waters in the Alvāi 'Thirtham on Tirthavāri day). In No. 169 Vol IV dated 20-1-1542 (p. 320 para 20) occurs 'ஆழ்வார தீர்த்தத்தில்'. In No. 34 Vol. V. 19-3-1544 P. 87 para 88 reads. "On the tenth day or Sattumurai of Nammālvār Tiruvadhyayanam festival in Visakha Nakshatram when Nammālvār ascends the car on the Ālvār Tirtham and circumambulates the Nammālvai Temple." Again in 66 Vol. V. 25-3-1546 (para 10, 11)⁴ occurs. "When Tiruvāli Ālvār (Sudar-sana) goes to Ālvār Tirtham on Tirukkāitigai Day"⁵ also "when going to Tirtham on Sankaramanam day" (all referring to Govindaraja temple). Again in an inscription which deals with the installation of Lakshminarayana Perumal in the Tirthavāri Mandapam of Ālvār Tirtham occur the words "தமமுடைய ஆழ்வார தீர்த்தத்தில் தீர்த்தவாரி மண்டபத்துக்குள் நாம ஏறி அருளப் பண்ணிவித்த லக்ஷ்மிய நாராயண பெருமான". Soṭṭai Tirumalai Nambi Srinivasa Ayyangar, V. 92, June 1547, among his endowments mentions⁶ a Tiruvengadamuḍayan image in 4th cave above Alvar Tirtham.

1 தீர்த்தவாரிநாள் ஆழ்வார தீர்த்தத்தில் தீர்த்தம் பிரஸாதித்து.

2 நமமாழ்வார திருவெழிநீர் பதநாள் திருநாள் சாததுமுறை விசாக நக்ஷத்திரத்தினாள் ஆழ்வார தீர்த்தக் கரையில் நமமாழ்வார் திருத்தேரில் ஏறி அருளி திருக்கோயில் வளைய."

3 திருக்கார்த்திகை நாள் திருவாழி ஆழ்வான் ஆழ்வார் தீர்த்தத்துக்கு எழுந்தருளுமபோது.

4 சங்கரமதது நாள் தீர்த்தத்துக்கு எழுந்தருளும்போது.

5 ஆழ்வார தீர்த்தத்தில் ஞானஞ் சுனையில் திருவேங்கடமுடையான ஞானவழி சநகி விட்டவன பிரஸாதம்.

Among the several acts of charity, of Matla Ananta raja the establishment of a free feeding house in Alvár Tirtham Seshachala, Kuruva is mentioned¹. The first mention of a Kapilesvara shrine (not any tank) is in an inscription dated 30-1-1563 Saka, 1485 in Dundubhi year, Kumbha month, Suklasaptami Saturday, Bharani Nakshatra, when a dancing girl Sevvu Sāni donated 200 panams from the interest whereon the daily worship of Sri Vignēsvara (one lamp to be lit in the evening and flowers and food offerings with two marakals of rice) installed in the Nritya mantapa of Nayanigar, Kapilesvara Mudayan Nayanar Kovil was to be carried on. The inscription does not state that the tank was called Kapila Tirtham

Long time thereafter on 10-2-1865 A.D.,¹ (after an interval of 302 years from 1563 and 237 years from 1628 A.D.), we come to an inscription which says that Sri Mahant Dharma Dasu, Vichārana karta did repairs to the Kapila Tirtham²

Thus it was on 10-2-1865 that we were told by Dharmadasji that Alvar Tirtham is Kapila Tirtham. But we have seen enough to note that it is a misnomer, and that throughout all the centuries in the past it has been known only as Alvár Tirtham. It is called the Divya Tirtham of Tiru vēngadamudayan, but flowing to Tirupati. It has

1 VI Part 1 25 వరదాచార్యుల వ్రాసినది at ఆరవారిరెవర and శివారం కురువ

2 కపిలేశ్వరం పుష్కరిణిపై ముంపుచేయించు దేవేశ్వరరాజు ఆదేశం

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always been considered as flowing from the toe of Tiruvēṅgaḍamudaiyan and therefore holy. There was a Tiruvēṅgaḍamudaiyan installed in the fourth cave of the water-fall above Alvār Tirtham where the waters roll down in cascades.

SRI KAPILESVARA SVAMI TEMPLE AT ALVAR TIRTHAM, TIRUPATI.

This temple is situated on the high ground on the east bank of the Alvār Tirtham, also now called Kapila Tirtham and faces west

There are only two inscriptions which relate to this temple. The earlier one, as was already stated, is on the door jambs of the temple. It does not mention the date, but from the contents can be ascribed to the Chola period, either Rajendra I or Rajendra II in the later half of the eleventh century A.D.¹

The inscription translated into English would read "Svasti Sri: This Tirumaligai (was) raised by Rayan Rājendrasōlan, alias Brahmarayan Munaiyadaraiyan". The Devasthanam Epigraphist translated the word Tirumaligai as "Tabernacle". The tamil word Tirumaligai would be used when referring to the residence of a great religious teacher, or saint (பெரியோர் வசிக்கும் இடம்). There is in fact no tamil equivalent for the jewish Tabernacle which

1. ஸ்ரீகாளீஸ்ரீ கோடகுர உடையாந ராயந ராஜேந்திர சோழ
நாந பிரமராயன முனையதரயன எடுப்பித்த திருமானிகை.

was a movable place of worship having an altar for burnt sacrifice. In a depolarised sense a tabernacle is a place of worship. But the idea of having a concrete image for worship would not be germane to a tabernacle.

If the structure raised by Munaiyadaraiyan was a temple or sanctum, the proper tamil word would have been Koyil (கோயில்), whether it be one for Siva or for Vishnu. In I 23 (1094 A.D.) which gives details of an endowment for Sri Parāsarēvara's temple in Tiruchchukanūr, the word used is Koyil. Also in I 25 (1111 A.D.) the temple of Sri Kālahastēvara is called koyil. In I 35 (1223 A.D.) we find the temple referred to as koyil. Also in I 36, 1225 A.D. which refers to an endowment of 1008 A.D. for Sri Parāsarēvara's temple the word koyil occurs.

It is therefore improbable that the structure raised by Munaiyadaraiyan during the reign of Rajendra Chola was a temple for a God. It might have been raised to serve as residence for a living saint, or to instal the image of any such saint, say Saint Kapila. Further a temple for God would usually be made to face East and not West. The

1. இதேவா கோயிலை காலியை உடைய செவ்வாழ்வார்

2. திருக்காளத்தி உடைய கோயிலை

3. திருக்காளத்திமுடைய காலியை இக்கோயில் மாட்பதரி
யும் செவ்வார் 111 1. அறிவே இக்கோயிற் கோயிற் காலியை
உடைய

4. திருக்காளத்திமுடைய கோயிற் தாளத்தாரிவித்த

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shrine or temple for Saint Nammālvār, which is close by, faces west because the saint must be made to face Sri Venkatēsa as the Hill and not show his back to God. It is even probable that the door jamb on which the inscription is found, was originally the door jamb of the shrine of Sri Nammālvār before that temple was rebuilt about 1287 A.D. by Pallavarayar and that the rejected door jamb was used at a later date for the Kapilesvara Temple.

There is another consideration also to justify this interpretation. If it was a temple for Siva it would have received encouragement at the hands of the Saivite Cholas in the same way that the Tiruchchukanur Parāsarēsvara temple had received during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This temple of Sri Kapilesvara is not mentioned in any inscription till we reach the year 1563 A.D. In an inscription dated 30-1-1563 during the reign of Sadasivaraya Maharaya¹ (Saturday, Bharani nakshatram Sukla Saptamī of Kumbha month in the cyclic year Dundubhi, saka 1485), the temple is described as² being managed by the Sthānattar of Tirupati Nayanar Kapilesvara mudaiya Nayanar temple. We are distinctly told that the 'Nayanar Kapilesvara mudaiya Nayanar' is the presiding

1 ஸகாஷ்டி தசராமிநி (1485) ஸ மேல செல்லாநின்ற தூந்துபி ஸ்வதஸரதது குடிநாயற்று பூவபகத்தி சததமியும சனிவாரமும பெற்ற பரணிநகத்ததநாள்.

2 திருப்பதி நாயனா கபிலேஸ்வரமுடைய நாயனா, கோயில், ஸ்ரீநாதாரோம ”.

Deity of the temple. We do not know why the word Nayanar is used, as a prefix as well as a suffix to Kapilesvaramúdayānī. Nayanar is used as referring to Siva as well as a Saivite saint. Could we interpret the phrase to mean, the Nayanar who was worshipped by Kapilesvara mudaiyā Nayanar but having no special name?

An Emperumānādiyar Sevvu, Sāni made an endowment of 200 panam. We are also informed that owing to (heavy) rains the compound wall and the kitchen of the temple collapsed and were repaired by Rāchōhuvittu nayakkār perhaps taking this 200 panam as a loan. The temple had its own Sthānat-tar and its own accountant according to this inscription. The endowment was for Śrī Vighnēśvara and not for Śrī Kapilesvarasvāmī.

We hear no more about this temple until we reach the period when the East India Company took over the administration of all the temples in Tirupati and Tirumalai at the beginning of the 19th century A.D. There were according to the Tasdik Book for the period from Fasli 1233 to Fasli 1242 (1824 to 1833 A.D.) under the company's management 19 major temples and 17 minor temples in Tirumalai and Tirupati. The temple of Śrī Kapilesvara Svāmī was classed as a major temple and was in receipt of an annual contribution of Rs 175—14—0 in cash from the circar. It had no income of any other kind. Its expenditure is also shown as Rs 175—14—0. It was not dependant on

the Tirumalai Devasthanam for this contribution, but on the circar. After the temples in Tirumalai and Tirupati were handed over to the Mahant as Vicharanakarta in 1843 A.D., the Mahants failed to draw the circar contribution, but paid the same amount of Rs 175—14—0 from the Tirumalai Devasthanam funds. In fact the Mahants failed to draw the circar contribution in the case of all the temples handed over to them, including the temple of Sri Venkatesvara in Tirumalai.

The location of the Balipitam and Dhvajastambham of Sri Kapilesvara's temple on the roof of the Sandhyavandana Mantapam of the tank indicates that they must have been raised after the building of the Sandhyavandana Mantapam around the Alvār Tirtham in 1531 A.D., by Achyutharaya Maharaya.

It is now one of the four component major temples of the Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanams and well serves the needs of the Saivite community in Tirupati.



CHAPTER XII.

TEMPLES AND THE AGAMAS.

SECTION I.

Classification of Temples according to their origin.

Temples dedicated to Vishnu in any of His reputed forms or in any form which appealed best to the mind of the donor are consecrated in conformity with the procedure laid down in the Samhita which is proposed to be followed thereafter. The Samhitas are numerous some expound the tenets of the Vaikhanasa Agama and some the tenets of the Pancharatra. In most cases the main as well as the subsidiary images (called the Dhruva Murti and the Parivara devas) are made by silpis or sculptors who are well versed in the ancient rules for the manufacture of icons. Such images are consecrated in the newly built temple. There are also a large number of temples wherein are Murtis whose origin is not traceable. Some are called Puranic because the place is mentioned in one or other of the Satvik puranas and the Murti or Bimbam said to have been set up and worshipped by one of the Puranic Heroes. The Main Image at any rate is not presumed to have been made by any Silpi of this Kaliyuga. There are also temples where the Main Image is presumed to have been installed and worshipped by a Siddha or Rishi in one of the previous Yugas. In

this case also the modern Silpi has had no hand in the carving of the Image. The fourth class comprises temples erected and images installed by the Devas themselves. The images therein were worshipped by the Devas. The fifth class of temples is known as *Svayam Vyaktam*. Sri Vishnu out of His infinite love manifested Himself in a few places in the form of a Murti so that His Bhaktas may worship there daily and obtain Salvation (freedom from birth).

Limitations to Agama rules.

The rules laid down in the Agama Samhitās for the iconography of the different forms of Murtis and the precise form of daily worship apply in every detail to temples first mentioned above, namely, the *Mānuṣyam* class wherein the Bimbam and the temple were made and consecrated by man. In the other cases the daily form of worship (the norm of worship) would as far as possible be in accordance with the procedure given in the Agama Samhitā which is adopted for that temple. If any difference is noticed in the features of the Image from what is given in the Silpa Sastram, the presumption is that the Image was made according to Bhagavat Sāstram. Therefore no attempt should be made to effect any alterations. Also if there had been old usages and practices which were existing when the Vaikhanasa or Pancharatna form of worship was first introduced those usages and customs should under no circumstances be interfered with. The temple of Jagannāth

is often cited as an instance and so also the Tirumalai temple.

The spiritual aura or influence of a Svayam Vyaktā sthālam will be felt in all the worlds that of a Daivika Sthālam will extend all round over one hundred Yōjanas, that of an ārsha Sthālam over a five Yōjana radius that of a Paurāṇikam over a three Yōjana radius and that of a mānusha Sthālam over a radius of one Yōjana only (Vide Marichi Samhita 98th patālam pp 522 523 and Bhṛigu Samhitā 34th Chapter pp 390 to 392 both telugu editions)

The Vaikhanasa and Pancharatra Agamas.

The Agamas are two in number the Vaikhanasa and the Pancharatra. Each claims for itself greater antiquity, superiority and sanctity. The points of difference are immaterial so far as the average worshipper is concerned. The points of agreement on fundamentals are so many that our Acharyas have accorded equal recognition to both. The main differences will however be given consideration in this Chapter. It will also be shown how by the removal, or omission of the images of the Vyūha forms in the first avaranam of the temple the differences carry no significance.

The Agama Samhitas deal with a variety of topics. Some devote more attention to the details of the architecture including iconography. Some deal with the different types of temples and the

FUNDAMENTALS OF TEMPLE WORSHIP

images appropriate for each. Some devote more attention to installation ceremonies, nityārchana and festivals. Some about expiatory ceremonies for defilement, failure to perform pūjas in time or mutilation of images and damage to consecrated structures. A few give an account of the metaphysical and mythological conceptions on which are based the theories of the efficacy of temple worship as the safest and surest means to end mortality and to attain to immortality and eternal communion with the Para Brahman in Heaven. These conceptions are the postulates of Hindu theology. Temple worship has therefore its roots in them.

FUNDAMENTALS OF TEMPLE WORSHIP.

Postulates accepted in Temple Construction and Worship.

1. **The Nishkala Brahman:**—The Nishkala Brahman is formless and is indescribable by any attributes. But all attributes which are used to describe Him are in Him in a latent condition as ghee is in milk, as oil in sesamum, scent in flower, juice in fruit and fire in wood.

2. **Sakala Brahman:**—This is the next stage in which Brahman assumes of His own Sankalpam a form with all attributes. Just as fire comes out of wood when rubbed, so also by constant dhyānam or meditation of the Bhaktas and of His own Choice or Sankalpam He assumes forms. As many sparks

of fire shoot out from burning wood so also do Brahma, Isāna and the other Dēvatas arise.'

3 The Saguna Brahman —The next postulate is that the Sakala Brahman is Saguna Brahman as well. It has not only a body but also innumerable auspicious attributes (Kalyāṇa gunas) and no inauspicious ones. Matter in its most rarefied imperceptible and impalpable state, known as Mūla Prakṛiti is His Body. This Prakṛiti is inseparable from Him and exists for Him only. It has no independent existence. He pervades it through and through. This Mūla Prakṛiti is said to be of two kinds a lower and a higher one. The lower one known as Prakṛiti goes through eight stages of transformation or transmutation viz. Mānas, Buddhi, Ahankāram, Ākāśam, Vāyu, Tējas, water (fluid) and earth (Solid). (An elnoidation of these states is not given here being not necessary for our purpose). By a multiplicity of combination of these and by their interaction with the higher Prakṛiti called Jīvātma which some how has got enmeshed therein Mūla Prakṛiti becomes this wonderful universe. On the body of the Saguna Brahman this Mūla Prakṛiti assumes the shape of mole marks. (called Sree-

1 Kāṣṭhē agnir mathanādūjjvalanniva nishkalatmakō Vishnur dhyānamathanēna bhaktyā Saukalpanāt sakalō bhavati. Tasmādagner viśvabhūtingī īva Brahmāśānādī Dēvatā rūpāir bhūtanaiwat... (Marichī. page 488 telugu edition). This account of the origin of Brahma Rudra and the other devatas is vague and does not contemplate to fit in with the Puranic account of Brahma emanating from the naval of Nārāyaṇa. The Vaiṣṇavas however do subscribe to the Puranic Story.

vatsam). Sri Devi is seated on a lotus standing above the Sreevatsam and she is the abhīmāni dēvata of Mula Prakriti. The form of **Sri Devi** is also given in the Samhita and Her relationship to the Saguna Brahman described. She is called the Vibhūti or everything that constitutes prosperity, wealth, happiness, etc., of Vishnu. She is part and parcel of Him; she assumes forms, sizes, etc., to suit His will. She is the Sakti or Power of Mula Prakriti and is Pushti.¹

4. **Srishti Sthiti and Samharam** :—Some how and at some time in the unknown hoary past and aided by the interaction of the three gunas (Satva, Rajas and Tamas) which are also His creation, the Jivatma got enmeshed in the lower Prakriti. As a consequence the Jivatma has to enjoy the fruits of its actions in an endless cycle of birth and death with old age, sickness, pain and pleasure. Looking at the Jivatma as only a higher form of Prakriti is the one given in the Gita. In this connection the Rigvedic conception of the relationship between Paramātma, Jivatma and Prakriti also deserves consideration, being older than that of the Gita. It is found in the verses of Sukta 164 and gives a higher status to Jiva.

1 "Tad viśhnōr vibhūtīḥ Srees sū cha Nityā Ādyantarātītā, Avyātarūpinī, Gramānāpramānasādharanībhūtā Viśhnōssankalpanānurūpā nityānandanamayī, mūlaprakṛitirūpā saktiḥ." Tada-bhinnā prakṛityamsasambhūtā Pushtiḥ. Tadbhinnāḥ striya-ssarvāḥ sadātmikā māya prakṛitir, māyī Viśhnuḥ Prakṛiti purushavētāvanādī, tābhyām lōkapravrittir vikāra gunās sarvā prakṛityutpannāḥ

Two birds of beautiful wings, comrades intimately related to each other are perching on the same tree, one of the two tastes of the sweet fruit while the other simply looks on without eating anything. (verse 20)

Where the fairwinged through powers of knowledge have ever and anon infused a spark of immortality there in myself a simple creature, the most wise Lord that preserves all the world has taken his abode. (verse 21)

The tree whereon the charming bird tasting of its own sweetness takes shelter and whereon all of them deposit their brood the fruit on the top of that tree is said to be very delicious none can enjoy it who do not know the Father (verse 22)

By His Sankalpam and as a matter of sport to Him this cycle of births and deaths of all Jivas and Prakriti, is punctuated by periods of partial dissolution and creation and also wholesale dissolution and creation with an interlude when all matter and the jivas are reduced to the primary state of Mula prakriti. The jivas carry with them in this atomic condition the germs or seeds of the fruits of all their actions. This mass of prakriti and jivas is preserved and protected in the womb or body of Brahman in His form as Narayana. There is really no change but an orderly preservation or Sthiti. They lie in this condition until at His will a next creation takes place. In this creation each jiva makes a fresh start from a place and under conditions which its accumulated past achievements entitles it to

THE ULTIMATE GOAL OF THE JIVA

Vishnu's function of giving protection to jivas is thus a continuous one and has no period of rest. Srishti, Sthiti and Samhāram (creation; protection and preservation, and dissolution) take place ever recurringly.

5. While Sthiti is the function which in His form as Vishnu, Srīman Narayana attends to, the work of creation is assigned to Brahma. From out of the navel of Narayana Brahma arises as the first created Jiva endowed with the Divine power to fulfil the task. Sankara or Rudra is created, according to the Vaishnavite or Sātvik puranas, by Brahma for accomplishing dissolution. Besides the wholesale dissolution of the universe, partial dissolution and recreation take place from time to time of the three lokas (Bhur, Bhuvar and Suvarlokas). This is mythology which is unquestioningly believed in. There are also other dēvas, such as Indra and the other lōkapalas, and the Navagrahas, who are Brahma's creation.

6. The ultimate goal of the Jiva is to free itself from association with Prakṛiti, thus end the cycle of births and deaths and attain to a state of eternal communion with the Paramātmān.

7. There are four ways of reaching this goal, viz, Japam, Homam, Dhyanam and Archa.

(a) **Japam** :—Japam is the recital with a concentrated mind of certain words, phrases or sentences which are called mantras and which, if properly pronounced and be associated with ideas,

confer on the aspirant great spiritual power and bring about realisation of the object in view. Ashtāksharam, Shadaksharam, Dvadasāksharam are the prominent ones. Initiation into the proper method of pronouncing them and choice of proper environments are said to be essential.

(b) **Homam** —This is done by installing the five or the three agnis invoking the assistance of Agni deva. The homam is performed for the Deva whose help the aspirant seeks. This is a tedious process and like the japam demands great patience.

(c) **Dhyanam** —This requires great concentration of mind on a particular object for a continuously long period. Hunger, thirst and fatigue have to be overcome. It is possible only for those who have attained great proficiency in Ashtāṅga Yōgam. Yogis are said to visualise the Brahman which is in every man's heart.

There are, it is said, dangers attendant in every one of the above. Success depends on the effective control of the mind which has so many distractions. Even the devatas are said to be jealous of the man who reaches great heights in the attempts by the above methods. A false step might land the aspirant in mental disorders etc. It is like travelling by air where not only the engine disorders but also the atmospheric disturbances result in a disastrous crash.

(d) **Archa** :—The Archa mārga is the fourth path. It is said to be the safest and surest way to

VYUHA AVATARS AND LOKAS

attain the goal. Faith in God is the essential requisite for taking to this path. In this method the aspirant gets made an image in as precious a metal as his finances will permit, in as lovely a form as his spiritual ideas and aesthetic taste dictate to be the likely form of Saguna Brahman, sets it up to be his God and fully and firmly believes it to be God. He should offer pūja to that Image daily and regularly concentrating his mind on that Image only during worship and become unconscious of what takes place around him during that period. The material form before him helps to concentrate the mind and steadies his faith. Or the aspirant might regularly attend worship being carried on in a temple by a specially trained priest. The grander the manner in which the priest conducts the worship the grater would be the effect on the aspirant. This method has no pitfalls. Even if there should be any break, the aspirant begins again where he left off. In the Kali age which has placed before man so many handicaps and in the ever growing struggle for existence the Archa mārga is considered the most suited for man to achieve salvation.

8. Vyuha Avatars & Vyuha Lokas:—The mythological conception of the region which the jiva has as its goal and the kind of communion with the Paramatma which it offers are also implicitly believed in. The theory is that Paramātma or His Sankalpam brought into existence a huge golden Egg which encloses within it innumerable andams or spheres of which the one in which we live is one

The uppermost andam is known as the Vaishṇa vāṇdam. It is to this andam that the liberated jivas, who are therefore called Muktas are conducted after they cast off this mortal frame. In that andam Paramatma abides, along with certain eternal beings known as Nityas Siddhas and Muktas. This andam is called Vaishnavāṇdam and is subdivided into four grades of andams, one being above the other in regular succession. They are called Amoda, Pramoda, Sammoda and Vaikuntha lōkas. Jivas enter first the lowest one of these, viz., Amoda loka and gradually rise to spiritual perfection. To the jiva Paramatma appears in each of these lokas in graded spiritual forms Vishnu, Mahā Vishnu, Sadā Vishnu and Sarva Vyāpi Nārāyaṇa. The perceptible forms of these called aṁsas are Puruṣa, Satya Achyuta and Aniruddha. They are also collectively called Vyūha forms, because they represent graded spiritual conceptions and powers of Paramatman which the jiva masters in four successive stages. Thus the Vyūha Mūrtis are four in number. Besides these four there are said to be as many as twenty four sub vyuhas some of which have their place in temple worship.

9 Vibhava Avatars —The next mythological belief is that the Paramatma manifested Himself in human and other forms to accomplish some specific task or other which was beyond the capacity of man to achieve. These are called Vibhava Avatars which as all know are ten in number. Images made according to the description of these

THE VYUHA THEORY OF VAIKHANASAS

given in the Puranas are worshipped in temples and in homes

10. Antaryami :—The other belief is that in every human heart resides Paramatma because he is all pervasive. Yogis are able to visualise Him in their heart

Thus Paramatma responds to the prayers of man and helps him in his attempts for salvation in one or the other of the Vyūha, Vibhava, Antaryāmi and aīcha mārgas

Temple worship is based on these beliefs and temple structures are modelled on the story of Cosmogony as given in the Puranas. The Vyuha Murtis and Brahma, Sankara, Indra and other dēvatās play a great part in the rituals of temple worship; and the architectural design of temples provides accommodation for them. The Vyuha theory will be dealt with first and then the cosmogony or Story of creation. It will then be clear to the readers how the obsolete and the extant forms of temples are, both modelled on these ideas.

The Vyuha Theory according to the Vaikhanasas.

There is a contention raised by some Vaikhānasa pandits that the Vyuha theory has no place in their Āgama. Bhṛīgu Samhita however makes it clear that such a contention is due to the misconception that the word Vyūha is not used in (the Telugu edition of) the Marichī Samhita while giving the division of Ādī-mūrti into four more forms. (Vide

Pages 386 and 387 of, Bhrigu Samhita and 507, 508 of Marichi Samhita)

“ ‘Panchadhā tu punar Vyūhah
 , , prōchyatē Srutisammatah ;
 } Dēvō¹ Vishnvādibhēdēna
 panchadhā vyavatsishthate ;

The word Vyūha means division into a number of units. It might be asked why the Ādi mūrti should divide himself into four more parts. The reason given is in the sruti ‘Tad Vishnōs gramā panudāya chaturgunā: yēti : To remove or obviate the difficulties which the bhaktas have to face in realising Brahmam in full and at one stroke He divided Himself into four more parts so that the goal might be reached in four stages. The realisation of Brahmam in five stages was taught by Varuṇa to his son Bhrigu as told in the Taittiriya Upanishad—that He is Anna, Prāna, Manas, Vignāna and Ānanda. The Agama Samhitas likewise recommend five stages of realisation of Vishnu Mahā Vishnu, Sadā Vishnu and Vyāpi Narayana whose amsas are Purusha, Satya, Achyuta and Aniruddha respectively and thereafter the Ādi Mūrti. Mastery of the gunas or virtues which characterise these Vyūha forms and which are known as Dharmam, Gnānam, Aisvaryam and Vairagyam brings about God realisation in four successive stages. The final stage is the realisation of Ādi Mūrti. The Vaikhanasa theory is that by a continued observance of worship in His Archa

THE FOUR LOKAS

form the jiva's attachment to samsāra is removed and the Jivātma sees Paramatma in the form of Narayana

“Tad ārādhaneṇa samsarārnava nimagnō
Jivātmā Paramātmānam Nārāyaṇam paśyati.”

Ultimately the Jivātma reaches the Divya lōkam There it has the good fortune to serve the Paramatma in four successive ways, viz, Sālōkyam, Sāmīpyam, Sārūpyam and Sāyujyam. Sālōkyam is obtained while in Āmōda lōkam. Sāmīpyam in Pramōda lokam; Sārūpyam in Sammōda lokam and Sāyujyam in Vaikunṭham Amodam, Pramodam, Sammōdam and Vaikuntham are the four lōkas in the Vaishṇavāṇḍam, in successively higher stages (upary upari) ¹

So Even after reaching the Vaishṇavāṇḍam after divesting oneself of the material body the jivatma has to go through four stages of evolution before it has full realisation of the Paramātmānam

(a) Thus in the **amodalokam** the liberated jivatma gets into the Sālōkya condition, serves the lowest

1 “Nitya Mukta Suddha svabhāva puruṣair anubhūyamānam Vaishṇavāṇḍam । atra Viṣṇu lōkāḥ chatvārah—Amōdah, Pramodah, Sammōdah, Vaikunthah—ityēkaikasyōpari yathā kramena bhavanti ”

Marichi page 490

‘Tadapi samārādhana vīsēṣat chaturvidha pada avāptih salokyam, sāmīpyam sārūpyam, sāyujyam iti

Amōda prāptih sālōkyam pramōda prāptih sāmīpyam sammoda prāptih sārūpyam, Vaikuntha prāptih sāyujyam iti

‘Tad Viṣṇuḥ paramam padam sadā paśyanti sūrayah.”

Marichi page 506

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

manifestation of the Ādi mūrti in the form of Purusha which is the amsa of Vishnu. The Brahma guṇam or Virtues of Purusha is Dharmam which therefore becomes the Vishaya guṇa of the jīvātma.

(b) In the next higher lōka of the Vaishnavandam the Pramoda lōka the jīvātma gets to a nearer approach called Samīpyam and serves the next higher form Satya which is the amsa of Maha Vishnu, whose characteristic Brahma guṇa is Gnānam (knowledge of the Divine) This gnānam is therefore imbibed in full by the jīvātma, or is its Vishaya guṇa

(c) In the still higher lōka—Sammōda lōka—the jīvātma is enabled to discern and serve the form of God in Sārūpya stage. This form is that of Sadā Vishnu whose amsa is Achyuta having the Brahma guṇa Aisvaryam. In this lōka the jīvātma acquires mastery over all things (Īśvaratvam) Aisvaryam is the Brahma guṇa of Achyuta and the jīvātma shares that as its own Vishaya guṇa

(d) In the fourth lōka—Vaikuntham—the jīvātma attains the Sāyujya state or it becomes, absorbed into Sarva vyāpi Nārāyana. It then realises that He is in him and he is a part of Him. Aniruddha is the amsa of Vyāpi Nārāyana and His Brahma guṇa is Vairāgyam which therefore becomes the Vishaya guṇa of the jīvātma. Complete detachment from everything other than Narayana. Thus Dharmam, Gnānam, Aisvaryam and Vairāgyam are the

four principal Brahma gunas of Paramatma and therefore also the Vishaya gunas of the jivatma.¹

Dhaimani, Gnanam Aisvaryam and Vairagyam represent one fourth, one half, three quarters and Brahman in full respectively. These are the four legs of the platform or the four planks on which the Dhruva Murti Stands or is seated in a temple. The Pancha murtis should be contemplated on after receiving initiation by a guru and by ashtanga yoga marga.

We pass on to the Pancharatra theory of the Vyūhas.

The Pancharatra Theory of the Vyūhas.

While the Vaikhanasas lay stress on the four Brahma gunas discussed above, the Panchaīratras derive the Vyūha forms from another set of six gunas which are inherent in the Paramatma and in every image which represents Him. The two sets of gunas are accepted by the two āgamas. The

1 " Tasmāt Brahma Chaṭuṣpādityuchyātē vēdavēdibhiḥ,
Padādhāt trīpādācchā kēvalāchchaktiḥ bhēdatah,
Kramēna Dharmagnāna Aisvaryā Vairagyā khyair gunair
Bhavan 1 Murtayastasmāt chaṭasrō vishayair nījah, [yutāh
Vishnuschaiv 1 Mahāvishnuḥ Sadāvishnur itī kramāt,
Vyāpī Narayana itī tannāmāni tatah kramāt
Vishnōramsastu Purushō Mahavishnostu Satyakah,
Sadāvishnor achyutas āyād vyāpino 'mso 'niruddhakah
Dharmādibhiḥ Brahma gunais chaturdha bhēda īritah "

(Bhṛigu Samhita p 387)

" Purushah Purushātmakah Paramapurushō Dharmamaya itī
Satyas satyātmakō gnānas sarvatejōmaya itī Achyuto' parimita
aisvaryas Srīpatir itī Aniruddhō mahānvalrāgyas Samhāraka itī "

(Marichī Samhita p 508)

difference is in giving priority. The Pancharatras represent the four gunas as the four cornerposts of the platform for the Dhruva Murthi. These posts are connected together by adharmā, agnāna, anais varya and avairagya which necessarily exist in this world. Preference is however given by them to the six gunas (shad gunas) viz. Gnanam, Balam, Aisvaryam, Viryam, Sakti and Tejas. These six gunas are inherent in Paravasudeva and Vyuha Vasudeva. The Vaikhanasas also accept these as inherent gunas of the Adi Mūrti.

“Nitya Muktaika sambavya s
chaturbhujā dharō Hariḥ
Anyūnā natiriktai s-avair
gunai shadbīr alankritah

(Bhṛigu Samhita p 387)

The Pancharatra theory starts with postulating that there is a **Sakala Nirguna Brahman** who is called **Adi Vasudeva**. He has only two hands and one face and is suddha Sphaṭika in colour. From Him arises a second Vasudeva (Para Vasudeva) whose abode is in **Vaikuntham**. He has four hands one wielding Chakram for Sthiti (protection) one having Padmam for Sṛishti (creation) one having Sankham or Pancha-janyam for Mukti (mōksham) and one having gada for Samhāram (dissolution). Srivatsam and Kaustubham are His lanchanas (distinguishing marks). The former represents Prakṛiti and the latter is the abhimanī dōvata of the jīvātmas. He is seated on the Divine serpent Sesha having a

thousand hoods in a magnificent mantapam in Vaikuntham with Śrī Devī on his right side and Bhū Devī on his left. His aṣṭā Saktis (viz, Kānti, Truṭi, Sraddhā, Vidyā, jaya, Kshama, Sānti and Sakti), keep guard at the eight cardinal points. Garuda, Viśhvaksēna, Nityas, and the other Pāiśadās and Muktas, surround Him and enjoy the sight. The description of Vaikuntham and the scenery as given in the two āgamas is substantially identical. The six divine guṇas (Gnanam, Balam, Aisvaryam, Viryam, Sakti and Tejas) radiate from Him.

From Para Vasudeva two new Murtis arise—Vyūha Vasudeva and Narayana.

Vyūha Vāsudeva has inherent in him all the six guṇas (gnanam, Balm etc.,) which characterise Para Vāsudeva. In the Vyūha lōkas He represents Para Vāsudeva, Whereas Nārāyana (the other form emanating from Para Vasudeva) has full responsibility for the Brahmāṇḍa Śiṣṭi. The Brahmāṇḍam is mundane and the Vyūha lokas are supermundane. Vyūha Vasudeva is of Suddha Sphatīka (crystal) colour whereas Nārāyana is of Neela megha colour. Both have four hands, wielding sankham Chakram Gada, etc. From Vyūha Vasudeva emanates Sankarshana; from Sankarshana Pradyumna, from Pradyumna arises Aniruddha. These four (Vyūha Vasudeva, Sankarshana, Pradyumna and aniruddha) Murtis arise in succession from Para Vāsudeva and are solely for the enjoyment and benefit of jivatmas who attain mōkṣham and are on the march

to Vaikuntham (There are other emanations called Vyuhantaras or Sub-Vyūhas which we need not consider now) The mukta first comes under the influence of Aniruddha, then of Pradyumna, then of Sankarshana and then to Vyūha Vasudeva acquiring in full at each stage the Divine Guṇas which characterise each of these Murtis'

There is some difference of opinion between Padmasamhita and the later ācharyas about the set of guṇas which characterise these Vyūhas. All are agreed that Vyūha Vasudeva possesses all the six guṇas in full measure the same as Para Vāsudeva. Sankarshana's outstanding guṇas are Gnanam and Balam according to the achāryas. The Samhita ascribes Gnanam only. Pradyumna is credited with Aisvaryam and Vīryam. The Samhita ascribes Balam. Aniruddha's guṇas are Sakti and Tējas. The Samhita allots to Aniruddha Aisvaryam. The Samhita allocates only three guṇas Gnanam, Balam and Aisvaryam leaving alone the other three. But the acharyas distribute the six guṇas into three pairs as shown above. The acharyas' views only are the accepted ones now.

1. Padma Samhita describes the Vyūha lokas and the Vyūha form in the following words —

Mahatas tamasō bāhyē lōkās subahuyōjanāḥ
 Chatvāraḥ kramasas santi chaturbhīr samadhiṣṭhitāḥ
 Vyūhāḥ kramēna vakshye tēn aniruddhah parah smritah
 Pradyumnō nantaram tēshām Sankarshana samābhavayah
 Vāsudēvastataḥ pashchād vyūhākhyah kamalāsana
 Vibhavākhyō Vāsudēvātadanantaram iritah
 Anādir Vāsudēvascha tayōr lōkūvanukramat.

THE PANCHARATRA THEORY OF VYUHAS

Shādgūnyāt Vasudevaḥ Para itī sa bhavān
muktabhōgyō, Balādhyāt

Gnānat Sankaiṣhanastvam harasī vitanushē
Sāstram Aisvārya-Vīryāt |

Prādyumnas saṅgadhārmō'nayasi cha bhagavan
Sakti tējō' niruddhō

Bihhrānaḥ pāsī tatvam gamayasi cha Tathā
Vūhya Rangādhīnāja

(Śrīmāṅga rājastavam 2-37.)

The Special guṇas of Aniruddha (viz, Sakti and Tejas) help the spiritual aspirant in the lowest stage. Aniruddha is Rakshaka and He teaches the Tatvas or spiritual principles. Sakti is passive and Tejas is active. In a sense Aniruddha is equated with Ahankaram, and His function is Sthiti. Pradyumna is the next higher Vyūha Murti. His guṇas are Aisvāryam and Vīryam (one passive and the other active form). He bestows on the aspirant the powers of control over all creative forces and their application. He represents Manas (mind) and does Śrīṣṭi (creation). Sankaiṣhan has the guṇas Gnānam and Balam which are essential for dispelling ignorance and giving mental and moral strength. He represents Samhāram, and the jīva. Gnānam is a passive element and Balam is its active form. These Vyūha forms and what they connote form part of speculative metaphysics. These Vyūha rūpas are meant only for the Upāsaka.

to meditate upon for acquiring the guṇas or qualities attributed to the forms. They mean no more.¹

(Sri Vedanta Desika's Rahasyatraya Saram
p 248 Sri Chetlur Narasimhachari's edition)

The injunction given is that for archa purposes these six gunas are always present not only in mantrams but in bimbams (or images) also and that it should be so considered in fact and not as fiction. Those who do sandhya and Japa know that as a necessary preliminary to the mental recitation of the mantra anganyāsam is done by associating syllables of the mantram with these six gunas and by locating them in certain parts of the body

'Sarvatisayi Shadgunyam

Samsthitam mantrabimbayōh

Tēnārchyō Bhagavan Sākshāt

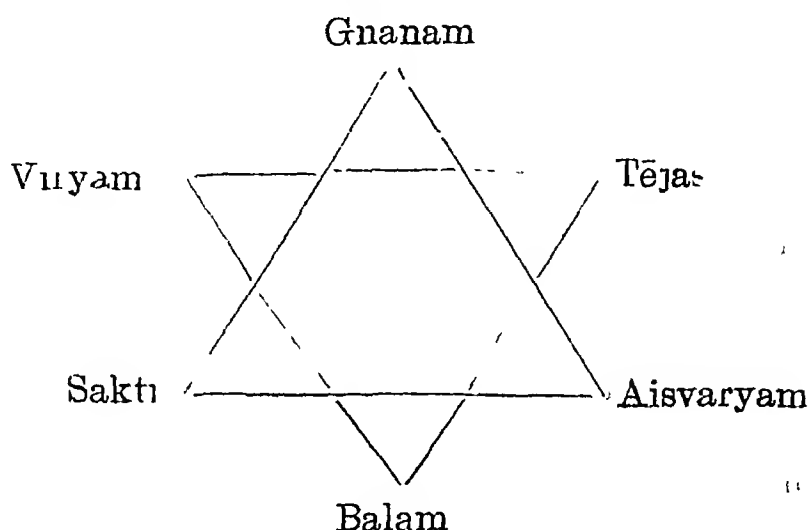
nōpachāradhiyā kvachit

As a matter of fact these *gūṇas* should invariably be represented on every *murti* representing the *Vyūha Vasudeva* or *Para Vasudeva* form. It is so in *Tirumalai* where the *Kautuka Murti* (*Bhoga Srinivasa*)¹ has under His feet and on the *pitham* a *yantram*. This *yantram* takes the form of two inter

[illegible]

THE PANCHARATRA THEORY OF VYUHAS

laced equal equilateral triangles one being the invert of the other. The angular points may be taken to represent a guna and the pair of opposite ones representing the dynamic and the Kinesthetic gunas



Gnanam, Aisvaryam, and Sakti are in one triangle Balam, Vīryam and Tejas in the invert

These pairs might be construed to function in the same manner as protons and electrons. Similar yantias have been adopted by the Greeks and other nations and by free Masons also

Just as the Vaikhanasa theory postulates the existence of four Vyuhā lokas in the Vaishnavāṇḍa presided over by Puruṣha, Satya, Achyuta and Aniruddha, the Pancharatra theory has set-up four Vyuhā lokas presided over by Aniruddha, Pradyumna, Sankarṣhāna and Vyuhā Vāsudēva. Both speculate on what awaits the aspirant for mōkṣham after death. Neither is connected with this material universe or Brahmanḍam

Even as part of speculative philosophy or metaphysics the ideas are given a concrete shape in temples and the mental conception has been represented as Murtis therein. Such temples will be described at some length presently.

In the method of representation the rationale of the two **āgamas** seems to differ. The **Vaikhanasas** place **Purusha** (the lowest of the **Vyuhās**) in the first enclosure surrounding the **Mula Murti**, on the south side of the east face facing the east. The next higher form **Satya** will be abutting the south wall of the **Garbha griham** facing south. **Achyuta** on the west facing west and **Aniruddha** on the north facing north. **Aniruddha** is the highest form (in the **Vaikhanasa** system) and is the **amsa** of **Vyāpi Nārāyaṇa**. The **Pancharatras** place **Vyūha Vāsudeva** (the highest of the **Vyūha** forms) in the east just where the **Vaikhanasas** place **Purusha** the lowest form. On the south will be **Sankarshana** (next lower than **Vyūha Vāsudeva**) in the place where **Satya** (the second from the lowest) is placed by the **Vaikhanasa**. Thus the reverse order is observed by the **Pancharatras**. Commencing from the east the **Vaikhanasas** place the **Vyuhās** in ascending order and clockwise. The **Pancharatras** place their **Vyuhās** in descending order. Worshipers going to the temple would first make a **pradakshinam** or perambulation of the **avaranam** clockwise. They would worship the **Vyuhās** in the ascending order if the images are of the **Vaikhanasa** theory.

COSMOGONY

If of the Pancharatra theory they will go to the lowest murti just before going into the Sanctum Sanctorum to worship the mula Beiam While making archana and food offering the archaka will have to go the other way. These incongruities lead to the suspicion that in practice these difficulties would have been felt The representation of the Vyuhās as images does not appear to have been in practice during the days of the Ālvars. No Alvar refers to them in his songs. There seems to exist no temple in Southern India where the Vyūha images are exhibited in the first āvaranam Their names alone are recited in the course of the rituals Therefore so far as the lay worshipper is concerned there is no difference between the two Agamas

There were however temples of different types dedicated to the Vyūha Murtis more or less exclusively They were designed to present to our view what awaits us when we cross this ocean of Samsāram and reach the Transcendental sphere called Vaishnavandam

Cosmogony according to Vishnu Puranam

We now pass on to the story of creation of our universe bristling with life in its numerous forms We find ourselves floundering and swirling in the ocean of Samsāram The Puranas and the Agamas tell us why we happen to be here and what we should do to cross this ocean. The Puranas tell us that we are not alone in this ocean There are countless jivatmas in various stages of spiritual

development endowed with different types of bodies suited to their advancement and in the lokas which they inhabit. The original cause of our being mixed up in this conglomerate is not any original sin since the jiva in its pristine condition and when reaching its goal is sinless. It is however the Divine will or Sankalpam that we should play our part in creation and find the way out also. Why there should be a creation and a dissolution of the universe it is not for us to divine. The story as is told in our Puranas we fully believe in. The Agamas tell us that by the worship of God with sincere Bhakti and by securing the help and co-operation of all other forms of life in this universe—the co operation of the spiritually more advanced beings and the non interference of the spiritually less advanced so that no obstacles are placed in our path—we could cross this ocean and enjoy the bliss in Heaven as all mukta do. This is why the Puranic story of creation and dissolution has been embodied in our temple structures and several images installed therein. The Agamas tell us how Baddhas could raise themselves to the stature of Muktas.

The theory is that after the last complete dissolution called Panchabhautika Pralayam all the Jivatmas and Prakriti lay preserved and protected by Srīman Narayana in and as part of 'His own Body as He lay on His serpent bed (Sesha)'.¹

1 "Ekada pralayakālē Bhujangā pati bhoga paryanka sayi tasya Nārāyaṇasya nābhīkamalē Brahmōdbhavaḥ Bhagavadam āśa chaturmukhō jagat sarvaṁ arjā tūlā vighrayate

The four-faced Brahma endowed with the amśa (or power-) of Narayana came out of the Nabhipadman of Bhagavan for the purpose of creating all this universe (jagat sarvaṃ sṛjātīti). This universe is therefore called **Brahmandam** or **Brama Srishti**.

Brahma Srishti.

Although during the Pāṇchabhautika Pralayaṃ Prakṛiti and all Jivas got reduced to an impalpable and indistinguishable state, each jiva carried with it the seeds of its past karma (actions). It was in this condition that the jivas lay in the womb or body of Narayana duly protected. When He willed to recreate the universe, Mūla Prakṛiti or Primordial Matter appeared transformed as Mahat. The next evolutes in succession are Buddhi, Ahankāram, the Indriyas, the Tanmātras and the Pancha Bhūtas (Ākāśa, Vāyu, Tējas, Ap and Pṛithivī). These terms are so well known that no explanation is necessary. Ahankāram takes three forms owing to the interaction of the three guṇas Satva, Rajas and Tamas. The Indriyas are said to arise from Sātvik Ahan-kāram. All the evolutes combine and intermingle in myriads of ways, which is called Panchīkāraṇam. The jivātma is enmeshed therein as the consequence of its past Karma. It is this heterogeneous mass or conglomeration that comes out of the navel of Narayana at the time of every creation as a huge golden egg having seven sheathes inside which the four-faced Brahma is seated on the Padman flower.

Brahma is the foremost (spiritually the most advanced) of all jivas and therefore is their representative (jivasamasti). Since every jiva has to its credit the result of all previous karma its place in the new creation is predetermined and Brahma only calls the jiva to its appointed place. Thus Rudra, Indra, Varuna etc. Sanaka Sanatkumara and all the others practically jump each into his place. By devolution of powers from Narayana Brahma is Divine. So also are Rudra, Indra and the other Dōvas. But technically all of them have been created by Brahma.

The order of Brahma Srishti.

Brahma first created plant life (or Sthavara Srishti) whose predominant characteristic is Tamō gunam. The next higher form of life which was created is animal life (Tiryak Srishti) Which is also of Tamōgunam. As he cogitated on creating a better type of life there came out of the upper portion of his body beings endowed with Satva guna and therefore full of ātma gnānam. They lived in the air and did not like this earth. Although Brahma was quite pleased with this creation (called ūrdhva surōtas or Devas) it did not serve the purpose of peopling this world. Therefore from out of the mid portion of his body he created men who preferred to be in this world. This creation was subject to the influence of Satva, Rajas and Tamō gunas and therefore some times feeling happy and some times feeling unhappy. This creation is known as Arvāk surōtas. All the above said beings possess the

THE ORDER OF BRAHMA SRISHTI

qualities or gunas known as Avidya, Asakti, Santushti and Siddhi and therefore are known collectively as **Anugraha srishti**.

Then he created Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumara and the Rudras. They were of superior type and did not serve the purpose of propagating this world. This Srishti is called **Kaumara Srishti**.

The superior type of life is divided into four classes Dēva, Asura, Pitri and Manushya. Jivas were created in one of these classes as befitting their past Karma. Asuras predominated by Tamoguna were born from below the waist of Brahma; Dēvas predominated by Satva guna were born from his mukham or forehead. The Pitri devatas who are also characterised by Satva guna were born from his sides. The asuras were born by night, the Dēvas by day and the Pitris in evening twilight. Men endowed with Rajoguna came out of the body of Brahma in morning twilight (dawn). Brahma assumed different bodies for the creation of each of these forms of life. From another body of his and when he was in an angry and hungry mood were born by night beings having ugly and hideous forms. Those who cried for food or Jaksha were called **Yakshas** and those who cried for protection (Raksha) were called **Rakshasas**. Then from his tuft which fell down came serpents (**Ahis**) of lowly origin. As he was in bad temper at that time, there came into existence numerous **Bhutas** of dark colour subsisting on flesh and blood.

When he regained his temper he created the Gandharvas who sang gaily. Then were created several kinds of birds and beasts and useful drugs. Brahma also brought into existence from his east face the Gāyatrī Chandas Rīgvēda Trivrit Stōma, Rathantara Sāman and Agnistōma. From his South face came Trishtup Chandas Yajur Vēda Panchadasastōma Brihat Saman and Ukthyam of yagūas. From his west forehead came Jagatī Chchandas, Sama Vēda Saptadasa Stōma and Vairūpam of Samans. From his north face came Anushṭup Chandas Atharva Vēda, Ekavimsa Stōma, Vairejam of Sēmans and the yēgūam known as Aptōryāmam.

Brahma Sriṣhti has to be related here in great detail because the story has been reproduced in the various prākaraṁs and in the garbhagriham of our temples.

Creation of Rudra.

All the attempts which Brahma made so far did not satisfy his expectations to multiply life fast enough in this world. So he went again into the creative mood and from his mind brought forth nine sons each one of whom excelled Brahma in intelligence character and ability. They are collectively known as Nava Brahmas, and their names are Bhrigu, Pulastya, Kratu, Angiras, Marichi, Atri, Daksha, Vasishtha and Nārada. They were full of vairagyam and took to mōksha margam. They had no inclination to multiply human life. Brahma

CREATION OF RUDRA AND SVYAMBHU MANU

felt chagrined at his failure, and knit his eyebrows in great anger. From his mate fore-head and at noon sprang forth an irate Rudra with the brilliance of a thousand suns. His form was however half male and half female (Ardhanārīśvara). Brahma felt unhappy about this hermaphrodite Mūrti and ordered that he should at once separate the male from the female form. In doing so the male form divided itself into **eleven Rudras** and the **female form assumed numerous shapes** some being saumya, some hideous, some sāntasvarupam, some ugly, some of black and some of fair complexion.

For the protection and governance of this world he converted himself into a king by name **Svayambu manu who married Satarupa which form Brahma's wife took**. The above is a short account of what is given in the Vishnu Puranam. In short Brahma created Indra and all the other Devas and devatas, the Asuras, Pitris, Rishis, Manushyas, Kinnaras, Gandharvas, Apsaras, Rakshasas, Yakshas, Bhūtas, Pisāchas, Beasts and Birds, Serpents and all the Sthavara and Jangama life. He created also Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanat kumara the Nava Brahmas, Rudra in his eleven forms, and Svayambhu Manu.

The life time of India and the Devas, Saptarishis, Vasu Rudra Ādityas and the Manus is called a **Manvantaram**. In mānusha years it is equivalent to thirty crores sixty seven lakhs and twenty thousand years. Fourteen such manvantarams make

one day time (half a day) of Brahma. At the commencement of each manvantaram Indra and the other Devatas are created simultaneously and their life also ends simultaneously at the end of the manvantaram. At the close of each day of Brahma an interim dissolution or Naimittika pralaya of the three worlds Bhur Bhavar and Suvar takes place by fire. Unable to bear the heat the inhabitants of Mahar Loka take refuge in the next higher lokam called Janōlakam where reside all great Yōgis. A fresh Srishti of these three lokas is done by Brahma. All this is one day's work for Brahma. Counted by this unit Brahma's life period is one hundred years at the end of which the Maha pralaya (Pāncha bhantika pralaya) takes place. This difference between the Devatas, Brahma Rudra and the munis accounts for the different āvaranams in which their images are placed in temples. This will be explained in due course. An inspection of the two charts showing the āvaranams and the devatas therein will also satisfy the curiosity of the reader.



CHAPTER XII.—(*Contd.*)

TEMPLES AND THE AGAMAS.

SECTION II.

Different Types of Agama Temples.

In the design of temples, in the arrangement of the images therein and in the orderly manner of the daily puja and the annual festival, the agamas follow closely the description given in the Puranas of the mythology and metaphysics of cosmogony. The aim of the agamas is to indicate clearly the way to attain moksham, or emancipation of the Jivatma' from this world. The normal course involves a long journey through the seven lokas in a series of births. In this course by successive stages it could rise from being a man to becoming an Indra or even Brahma. Thereafter the liberated Jivatma enters the Vaishnavāṇḍam in its lowest plane and rises by four stages to that level where it becomes identified with the Adī Murti. The temple structures, particularly the āvaranams of the temples, we now see, represent these stages of this world and of the Vaishnavandam. There were however temples of different types of construction, each type being best suited for a particular form of worship. Excepting the type which is current now the others are obsolete forms. They will all be briefly described as they serve to indicate the lines of development of our spiritual conceptions.

Classification of the types of temples.

(a) **The Vertical type** One type which probably was the earliest deputed the Vaishnavādam wherein the liberated souls going through their spiritual development in that andam worship the Adī murti in his Vyūha forms. All the temples of this conception represent the Murtis in shrines which rise one above the other vertically. The ideal temple of this type will consist of twelve tiers. The idea of having twelve tiers might have been taken from the tradition that the golden Vimānam in Vaikuntham consists of twelve tiers. A temple of this type would have risen to a height of about one hundred and twenty feet and was called a dvādaśa tala ālayam. The more common ones consisted of two or three tiers. The agama also contemplates a single floor temple of this type in which nine murtis would be arranged clock wise. The Murtis for worship will be the Vyūha forms and, some of the outstanding Vibhava forms. Brahma and Śiva do not appear to have claimed a prominent place in these ālayams although they received (according to the current form of temple worship) their nyasa flowers in the worship of every one of the nine murtis.

There is not even a relic of this type in South India. Perhaps some were built in North India or in the Himalayan regions where our Aryan ancestors first lived and where the Rīg Veda had its birth. The subsoil for the foundations of the temples should have been hard rock.

HORIZONTAL TYPES OF TEMPLES

Horizontal Types (b and c).

(b) **The Trimurti and Dvimurti Temples. One floor type.**

On the same floor-level temples were constructed to instal and worship separately Vishnu, Brahma and Rudra; or Vishnu and Rudra only. There are a few such temples in South India

(c) **The Ekamurti temple having one to seven avaranams or enclosures.**

This type is the commonest one now and has survived the test of time. In this type the representation of the Vyuha murtis and some of the Vibhava forms was in vogue. Brahma, Rudra, Marikandeya and Bhrigu were installed in the garbhagriham as parivāra devatas, although they are only spiritually advanced Jivātmās. This type and the single floor Nava murti ālayam already mentioned under the vertical type are substantially the same. In course of time (probably due to altered metaphysical and philosophic conceptions) the representation of Brahma and Rudra as images was given up, although in the rituals they are mentally served as before.

The description given in the Marichi Samhita of these types will be briefly summed up

Nava-Shat-Pancha murti alayam.

Temples of this type are recommended for places where more than one thousand learned brahmins

live They may be built in three tiers or two tiers or on the ground floor alone The overall dimensions of the building would range from nine hastams square to sixty one hastams square in arithmetical progression of two hastams to each side Thus each side of the square would be 9 11 13, 15 to 61 hastams There could therefore be twenty seven sizes of temples Temples of a size less than 9 hastams side are also permitted But they would be so small that kautuka berams for all the nine, six or even five murtis could not conveniently be given accommodation So they will have to be placed in alcoves in the garbhagriham (abhyantaram) walls.

The lay out of the temple would be as follows Divide each side into nine equal parts and stretch lines across in both directions This will give 81 equal small squares The nine squares in the centre would be reserved for the garbhagriham Sixteen small squares surrounding the former symmetrically will be for the construction of the garbhagriham walls Twenty four squares surrounding the above would be left free Thirty two squares surrounding this space will be for building the outer walls all round The walls of the garbhagriham are called abhyantara bhitti and the outer walls are called Bahya bhitti , both being sanskrit words for the inner and outer walls There will be a doorway left in the middle of the east inner wall and four doorways in the middle of each of the four outer walls All this round about description boils

down to stating that the each side of the garbhagriham will be three hastams, wall thickness one hastam and the width of the corridor round it one hastam. This allocation holds good whether the temple has three or two tiers or is only a ground floor structure. The sketch attached hereto will make the description clear. In the sketch there is a compound wall also shown surrounding the temple and mukhamantapam. The compound wall is called Bāhya kudyam (again a sanskrit word). The corridor space left between the abhyantaram and the Bāhya bhitti walls is called 'Alīndram'.

If the temple is built in three tiers it is called a Tritala ālayam, if in two tiers, dvitalam and if only on the ground floor it is called Ēka-talam.

Tritala Nava murti alayam.

In this type the centrally situated twenty five squares, (which is the same thing as saying the space allotted for the garbhagriham and the abhyantaram walls) will be left vacant without any mūrti being placed therein. On the other hand the ground floor would be built substantially so as to act as a sound foundation and basement for the second and the third tiers. On all the four sides of the Alīndram (or corridor) the Vyūha murtis will be installed—Purusha in the east wing, Satya in the South wing, Achyuta in the west wing and Aniruddha in the north wing. There will a flight of steps leading to the second tier. The Bāhya Bhitti walls

will have large openings in each wing and be provided with jālakam (or trellis pattern bay windowes) so that the murtis installed in the Alindram could be seen from the mukha mantapam in front of each. (The Sketch will be easier to understand than wordy descriptions) In the second tier would be installed the Dhruva Murti (Adi Murti) in the central garbhagriham space facing the east. In the corridor space surrounding this (called Alindram) would be installed, practically resting against the wall the images of Naranarayana on the south wing, Nrsimha on the west and Varāha on the north. There will be parapet walls mantapam and a flight of steps (Sōpanam) to the third tier. In the central portion of the third tier (which would be of the same dimensions as in the second tier) will be installed the Sayana murti in Bhōga Sayanam on Sessa. All the Murtis will be Bahirmukham or facing outwards.

If the Tritala alayam is meant to instal only six murtis then the installation of Nara Narayana, Nrsimha and Varaha would be omitted : There will be no other change.

Dvitala alayam.

In this type the Adi murti Vishnu would be installed in the ground floor (Atha-s-talam) in the middle space (nine small squares) in Bhoga āsan posture. In the Alindram surrounding the garbhagriham the Vyūha murtis would be installed as described already, with this difference that Purusha

KA VIMĀNA NAVA- AMŪRTI ĀLAYAM

NCE:—

MURTHIS. POSITIONS.

MURTI	CENTRE
M—	SOUTH OF ENTRANCE
—"	SOUTH CETRE
—"	WEST —" —
A —"	NORTH —" —
YANA —"	S. W. CORNER
A —"	N. END OF W. WALL
W —"	W. END ON N —"
—"	NORTH OF ENTRANCE
BERAM	IN FRONT OF NO 1

MURTHIS FACE OUT WARDS

AM IS OVER BAHIR BHITTI WALLS
MARKED A - B. C. D.

BYAM WALLS THERE MIGHT BE
S ON ALL THE 4 SIDE WITH GOPURAMS

SHOWS ONLY ONE ENTRANCE ON
IDE

SHOWS ONE OF THE OBSOLETE
MPLES, & THE PROGENITOR OF
EN TYPE

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NAVA-SHAT-PANCHA MURTI ALAYAM

murti could be to the south of the east door way the garbha griham abutting the Abhyantaram wall. All will face outwards. In the second tier, in the central space will be installed the yoga sayam murti.

Pancha Murti alayam-dvitalam.

Adi murti vishnu would be installed in the second tier. On the ground floor Purusha, Satya Achyuta and Anuruddha as before on the four sides obtained either by blocking up the central nine squares alone or the central twenty five squares. All the murtis would face outwards.

If it is found difficult to have separate Vimanas over each of the Dhruva Murtis, the Eka tala temple might be provided with a single Vimana so as to cover the entire space occupied by all the Murtis.

Eka tala Eka Vimana Nava-Shat Pancha Murti alayam

The type is a cheap alternative and could be constructed so as to be less than 9 hastams square if so desired. The sides would be divided into nine equal parts each way so as to give 81 equal small squares. Or each side might be divided into 11 equal parts, resulting in the formation of 121 equal small squares. In either case the central 25 squares will be allotted for the garbhagriham and the abhyantaram walls. According to the second method the Alindram would get 56 squares and Bahir bhithi 10 squares. In other words the garbha griham will

three units square the abhyantaram wall and the Bahur bhithu one unit thick and the alindram would get a little more space. The Adī murti and the Vyuha murtie would be installed as before. Nara Narayana would be near the south west end of the south face of the alindram, Nṛsiṃha near the North West end of the west face and Vārāha near the North West end of the north face. The Sayana murti would be placed against the east wall of the alindram to the north of the main doorway. We have seen that Puruṣa would be to the south of the same doorway on the east face. This arrangement will make up the Eka tala Eka Vimāna Nava murti ālayam. If Nara Narayana, Nṛsiṃha and Vārāha are omitted it becomes the same type Shaṅ murti ālayam. If Sayana murti also is dispensed with it becomes a Pancha murti ālayam. These arrangements are shown in the attached sketch (already referred to). There would be a main mukha mantapam on the east side as shown, there might also be smaller ones on the other three sides. There might be four gopurams (one on each side) in the middle of the compound walls, or only one on the east side.

These types are all out of date. There seems to be only one in Uttara merūr in the Chingleput District which was probably the work of the Pallava King Mahendra Varman also known as Vichitra Chittan which appellation well describes all his strange ideas. The space available in the Eka tala Eka Vimāna Nava Shat Pancha murti ālayam is so limited that

it was felt difficult to install all the Dhruva Murtis and their respective Kautuka berams. The agama therefore permits the placing of the Kautuka berams in alcoves (or recesses) in the abhyantara walls near each Vyuha Murti, or even to omit the Kautuka berams altogether. The installation of the images of Brahma, Rudra and the others would therefore have been out of the question.

All the above types are intended to present to us the conditions subsisting in the Vaishnavāṇdam only

The Dvadasa Tala alayam (Twelve tiers Vertical type.)

This is the most ambitious variety of the vertical type. A comparison of the description of this variety with the seven prākāram temple of the horizontal type which the chart enclosed to this chapter shows will give the impression that the two are not very different from each other. The horizontal type is only a projection of the vertical type on a horizontal plane

The ground floor of this variety of temple will be massive in construction so that it could carry all the load transmitted by the eleven floors above it. It will have halls (Kūtams) and verandahs for sheltering worshippers, for storing materials etc. But no Murti will be installed on this floor. The other floors will have in addition to the garbhagriham for the murti, alindrams,

antarālamś ¹ mukhamashtapams parapet walls, sōpanams, kūtams and salās. The location of the garbha grihams is compared to the holes in a flute (Vēnu randhravat garbhōpari garbha griham)

In the second tier will be installed the image of Sarva vyapi Narayana in the Sayana posture.

In the third tier will be installed Sada Vishnu in the asina posture in the fourth tier Maha Vishnu in the Sthānaka (standing) posture ¹ In the fifth tier the following devatas will be installed in olock wise order commencing from the east, Dik palas Adityas, Vasus Rudras, Maruts, Asvins Sapta rishis, Sapta rohina, Matru ganas and all Devas. In the sixth tier on the east side facing the east will be Sanakam, Subhadram, Mitram, Sanatanam arranged from south to north on the south side facing the south will be Sukhavaham Hayatmakam, Atri and Sarvam arranged from west to east on the west side facing the west will be Sanandanam Rāma dēvam Sivam and Sanat kumaram arranged from south to north, On the north side facing north will be Samvaham Punyam, Visvam and Suvaham arranged from west to east.

In the seventh tier the Deva will be represented in the Vijaya krida rupam in all the eight directions and in the garbha griham

¹ In the Kamakshiamman temple in Kanchipuram there is a variant of this type. The ground floor is of massive construction. In the first second and third floor are the Sthānaka Asina and Sayana Murtis. They are now being treated as three separate temples in counting the 18 Sthalams in Kanchipuram.

In the eighth tier the arrangement is as follows—on the east side Pancha Viran in the middle with Raghavam to his right and Krishnan to his left; On the south side Nrisimham in the middle with Vāmanan to the east and Trivikraman to the west; On the west side Varāham in the middle with Parasuraman to the South and Balabhadran to the north; on the north side Kalki in the middle with Kūrma rupam to the west and Matsyatmakam to the east

In the ninth tier within the eight sided garbhagriham will be installed in order commencing from the east (and going clockwise) eight of the Vibhava avatars, viz, Nrisimham, Vamanam, Trivikraman, Parasuraman, Sū Rama, Bala Rama, Krishna and Kalki

In the tenth tier, there will be, commencing from the east, Purusha, Kapila, Satya, Yagna, Achyuta, Narayana, Anuruddha and Punya at the eight corners.

In the eleventh tier Adi murti Vishnu will be in garbhagriham; while in the alindram will be Nara Narayana on the south face, Narasimham on the west face and Varāham on the north face

In the twelfth tier there will be the Sayana Murti in Bhujanga Sayanam

It will be seen from the above description that the Tritala nava murti alayam, gets gradually higher and higher up as an additional tala is added at the lower end. To decrease the tala by one, the

deletion should be at the ground floor end, leaving the ground floor construction undisturbed. This type is only of academic interest to us

There is yet another variety of temple in which the murtis are arranged vertically. The Sayana murti occupies the lower tier the āsina or sitting murti the mid floor and the Sthanaka or standing murti the top tier or vice versa. (Perhaps the Undavalli cane temple on the banks of the Krishna near Vijayawada is of this type) This is also an obsolete type

The Dvi and Trimurti Alayams on ground floor

In the Dvi murti alayam Vishnu and Sankara are installed in separate shrines, each shrine having its own pradakshinam (or antarmandalam)

The two murtis would be to the right or left of each other, both facing the east. Or Vishnu alayam might be to the west of that of Sankara. Then Vishnu would face east and Sankara west. They will have a common temple with common prakaram. The temples in Upper Ahobilam, Srimushnam and Chidambaram might be considered as examples of this type. Such temples are however uncommon. The temple in Sri Nammalvar's birth place Tirukkurukur (Alvar Tirunagari) is one such.

There are a number of temples sung by the ālvārs where Sankara is stationed in the garbhagriham of Vishnu. Although the Sthalapuranas now say that in answer to the prayer of Sankara,

THE TRI MURTI ALAYAM

Vishnu appeared there, the fact might be that these are Dvimurti alayams.

The Tri Murti Alayam.

The shrines of Vishnu, Sankara and Brahma will be separate, each having its own antarmandalam; but all of them will be in one compound having common set of compound walls. The arrangement of the Murtis is entirely a matter of discretion. Any one might be in the middle and the other two on either side in any order. This kind of temple is of rare occurrence. Sri Nammalvar's description of the temple in Tiruchchengunrūr chitrāṭṭrankarai (திருச்செங்குன்றூர் சிறுஈறநகரை) in malai nādu bordering on Tiruvanku shows that temple as belonging to this type. His songs testify to his high appreciation of the amity that prevailed among the three thousand highly learned brahmins in worshipping daily all the three murtis on equal basis. It appears that the temple in Suchindram (Truvankur state) is also of this type. The archaeological remains of the cave temple in Mandagappattu point to that having been a Trimurti temple constructed by Mahendra Varman (Vichitra Chitta) about 650 A. D.

Temples and temple worship have not been a tame and dreary affair. There has been life in it.



CHAPTER XII—(Contd.)

TEMPLES AND THE AGAMAS.

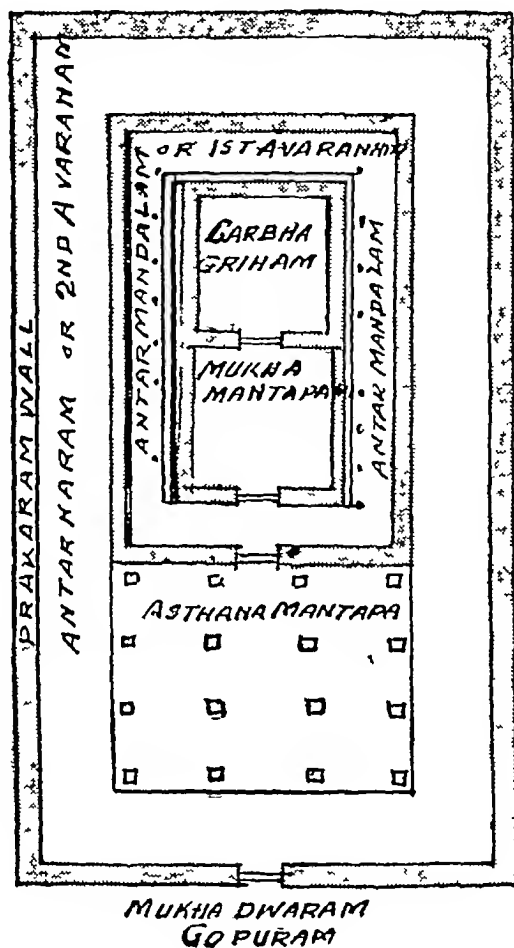
SECTION III

The Ekatala Ekamurti alayam.

Having described all the obsolete types of agama temples the one type which we are and which our ancestors in South India have been accustomed to from at least the seventh century A. D. when cutstone temple structures may be said to have commenced will now be described. It is the view of some agama pandits that all the types including ours were in use at all times in the past and that the survival of what is current is a matter of accident. If however we carefully analyse and compare the present design of a temple with the design of an Eka tala Eka vimāna Nava Shat Pancha mūrti alayam, we have every reason to conclude that the present type is the natural evolution of the Nava Shat Pancha murti ālayam. We shall first describe the design of the current type.

The Eka tala Eka mūrti ālayam is not only confined to a single floor but is also dedicated to the worship of a single Dhruva Murti and its Kautuka Bēram. Its Vimanam covers only the garbha griham. A simple design of a skeleton temple (Ekatala Eka Murti) of the current type is shown in the annexed Sketch. The garbha griham and the mukha mantapam, which is its antecham

ĒKATAĒ KAMURTHI ALAYAM, CURRENT TYPE



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ber, form an integral structure up to the roof. The Vimanam would cover only the garbha griham, its walls and the terrace. The mukha mantapam will have only the terraced roof. The width of the mukha mantapam would be about the same as that of the garbha griham, but its length would be such that the area of its floor space equals the area of the vimanam at its base. When the mūrti to be installed is in the standing or sitting posture the garbha griham would be square in shape. The floor space (and therefore one side of this square space) is usually calculated after deciding on the area of the base of the vimanam (which determines the height of the vimanam also). The rule of thumb practice is to make the area of the garbha griham $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{2}{4}$, $\frac{3}{6}$, $\frac{4}{7}$, $\frac{5}{9}$ or $\frac{6}{11}$ th part of the base area of the Vimanam. In the design of the Nava Shat Pancha murti alayam (Eka tala Eka Vimanam) the rule was much cruder still. For a nine hastam square ālayam the floor space of the garbha griham would be $\frac{1}{3}$ th part of the area of the ālayam itself, or, $\frac{9}{25}$ th part of the base area of the vimanam. There will be an open space left at the terrace level on all the sides of these two structures (excepting on the front side) which space is called **Antaralam**. This open space separates the two structures from the corridor which surrounds them on all sides. This corridor is called the '**Antar-mandalam**'. The antarmandalam corresponds to the alindram of the Nava Shat Pancha murti ālayam. The roof of the antarmandalam is carried on walls on the outer side and on a row of stone pillars in the

inner side on the three sides excepting the front. The slope of the terrace would be outwards. On the front side the antarmandalam widens into an Ardha mantapam or Snapana mantapam and is also called Vēsaram. Right below the antarālam opening and at the ground level there will be a fairly wide cut-stone drain running round the three sides. The drainage water from the garbha griham will find its ways into this drain by an outlet in the north wall of the garbha griham having a carved face, like the face and mouth of a cow and therefore called Gomukham. The rain water flowing down the Vimanam will also fall into this drain. All the drainage water will be led into the Pushkarini or the holy tank which is usually situated on the north side of the temple and near the outer-most Prakaram or compound wall. No part of the roof of the corridor (Antarmandalam) will rest on or have contact with the garbha griham walls. On the front side the corridor roof would rest on the east wall of the mukha mantapam.

It will be seen that the garbha griham, the mukha mantapam and the antarmandalam have doorways placed centrally on the east side only. Attached to the east face of the antarmandalam will be an āsthana mantapam used for festival purposes. This mantapam would be an open cutstone structure carried on 16, 32 or 64 pillars.

It is usual to have the shrine of Garuda (the Divine Eagle) in the middle of the eastern fringe of

AVARANAMS, OR, PRAKARAMS

the above mantapam. The Dhvajastambham and Balipitham would be to the east of this Shrine. There are however alternative sites assigned for these which will be explained later.

The walls of the antarmandalam are also known as the first āvaranam or prākaram walls. There will be a fairly wide quadrangular open space running round these walls and the āsthāna mantapam. This space is enclosed by another set of quadrangular walls (massive and high) known as the second prākaram or āvaranam walls. There will be one wide and high opening on the east wall, corresponding to the doorways in the garbha griham, mukha mantapam and the first avaranam but very much higher and wider giving an 'imposing appearance. The roof will be surmounted by a gōpuram. The opening is usually called a **mukhadvaram**. Very many temples are content with having this second āvaranam, its mukhadvāram and gopuram. A few have another set of quadrangular walls, mukhadvāram and gōpuram with the open space between the second wall and this one made much wider than the second āvaranam space.

These three avaranams play an important part in the daily rituals of worship. Important Devas and Devatas are presumed to occupy their allotted places therein. Although at one time they were represented by images it is not the practice now, **A chart showing these three avaranams and the Devatas at their appropriate places is appended to this chapter.**

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

The quadrangular open space between the āvara nam walls is not left entirely open to the sky. There are a number of built structures required for the daily routine of the temple. The space actually left open to the sky is called **Antaralam**.

Points of difference between the **Eka tala Eka murti alayam** (current type) and the **Eka tala Eka Vimana Nava shat pancha murti alayam** (the obsolete type)

(a) In the current type the antarmandalam surrounding the garbhagriham is very much wider than the alindram of the obsolete type. The alindram formed an integral part of the ālayam along with the garbhagriham the terrace being continuous without openings. But the present antarmandalam is a separate structure detached from the garbhagriham by an open space (antarālam) at the roof level. The Vimanam of the obsolete type covered the alindram space also. In the current type the Vimanam covers the garbhagriham only.

(b) The mukha mantapam in the obsolete type stood outside the alindram of the ālayam. But in the current type the mukha mantapam is next to the garbhagriham and the antarmandalam encloses the mukha mantapam also.

(c) In the obsolete temple there were the Vyūha images of Purusha, Satya, Achyuta Aniruddha, the Vibhava images of Nara Narayana Nrisimha and Varaha and the Bhujanga Sayana murti, all arranged along the four sides of the alindram. In the current type the antarmandalam is left empty.

or unoccupied by any of these images; but Vishvak-sena is assigned a place in the north wing of the antarmandalam near to the foot of the Vimanam corner. In the nava-shat-pancha murti ālayam Vishvak-sena was not given a place in the alindiam. The Vaikhanasa āgama recommends painted representation (Prāsādabhimukham chitra chitārtham ābhasam) of the ten avatars of Vishnu on the walls of the antarmandalam and for purposes of archa kautuka images also in front of each. This recommendation however did not gain currency (vide 21st patalam, manchi samhita, Telugu edition)

(d) The Vyūha murtis were worshipped daily as images in the alindiam. In the current temple the worship of these has reduced itself to the offering of a nyāsa flower during Nityarchana of the Dhruva Murti, while mentioning the name of each Vyūha mūrti and depositing the same between the feet of the Dhruva Murti.

(e) In the current type Brahma and Siva were at one time (although not now) represented by separate images in the garbha griham one on either side of the Dhruva Murti; and Garuda and Visvak-sena in other parts of the ālayam proper. In the obsolete type there was really no room for these, even if we wish to assume that they were represented. The seven āvaranams of a temple are not mentioned in connection with the obsolete type. It is only in the dvadasa tala ālayam of the vertical type some of the parivāra devatas are represented as occupying separate tiers

In spite of all these differences there is a strong resemblance between the obsolete and the current type. In the obsolete type the worshippers were obliged to stand in the mukha mantapam which was outside the alindram and therefore far away to have a clear view of the Dhruva Murti. But once the alindram was cleared of the Vyūha murtis it was found feasible to shift the mukha mantapam to be very near the Dhruva Murti. The desire would have been felt natural. The present type appears therefore to be the successor to the obsolete type.



CTF: ~~2~~
EACH AVARANAM IS DIVIDED INTO
AN INNER & OUTER PORTION
THE INNER IS THE ANTAPALAM

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CHAPTER XII—(Contd.)

SECTION IV

GARBHAGRIHAM, VIMANAM, AND PARIVARA DEVATAS.

Garbhagara Pada Vinyasam.

The division of the floor space of the garbha griham into four zones, each outer zone surrounding the next inner one is called in the language of the āgamas, Garbhāgāra Pada Vinyāsam. This division is made so that the images in the garbha griham may be arranged in the order which the āgamas prescribe. If the temple is consecrated for installing a Dhruva Murti and a Kautuka Bēram the division will be in one way; if there is no Kautuka Bēram and a Dhruva Murti alone is installed and worshipped the division is effected in a different manner. The four zones are named thus. The central zone is called Brāhmyam; the one which surrounds it is called Daivikam, the third zone which surrounds the Daivikam is called Mānusham, the outermost one is called Paisācham. The import of these terms is so patent that no lengthy explanation is necessary. If the temple has in the garbha griham a Dhruva Murti and its Kautuka Beram, the Kautukam should be installed in the central zone called Brāhmyam. Most part of the daily archana will be to the Kautuka Beram and

through it to the Dhruva Murti. If the temple was consecrated without the Kantukam, then the Dhruva Murti would occupy the Brāhmyam space. All arohana would be done to the Dhruva Murti directly. Two sketches are drawn marked (a) and (b). Sketch (a) shows the arrangement when there is a kantukam and Sketch (b) shows the arrangement when there is no kantukam.

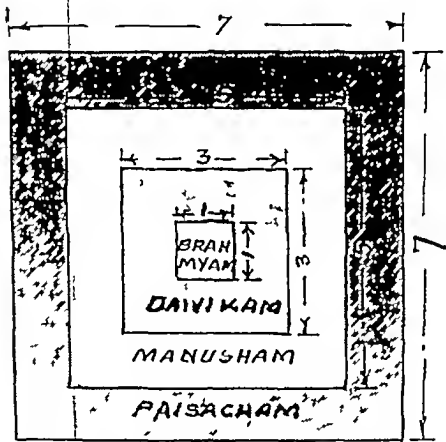
Sketch (a) Dhruva Murti and Kautukam installed—Each side of the square floor is divided into 16 equal parts and lines drawn across to mark the divisions. There will thus be seen on the floor 256 small squares (16×16). Sixteen small squares which are right in the centre form the Brahma Sthanam or Brahmyam where the Kautukam will be placed. The next eighty-four small squares surrounding the Brahmyam will form the zone called Daivikam, so called because the Dēva (or Dhruva Murti) would be placed within that zone. This zone will be sub-divided into three sub-zones by drawing lines across at equal intervals. The Dhruva Murti if in the standing posture would occupy the rear third part of this zone. If in the sitting posture He would occupy in addition to the above rear third part a portion of the next zone which is called Manusham. If He is in the Sayana posture much more of the Mānusham would be occupied as well.

Ninety-six small squares surrounding the Daivikam will form the Manusham zone. The outer most zone is called Paisacham and is formed by the remaining 60 small squares.

GARBHA GARA PADAVINYASAM

OR THE DIVISION OF GARBAAGRAHAM FLOOR SPACE
INTO 4 ZONES AS GIVEN IN AGAMA

NOTE — THIS DIVISION IS APPLICABLE
WHEN NO KAUTUKA BERAM IS
INSTALLED & DHRYAMURTHI ALONE
RECEIVES ARCHA



DHRYAMURTHI IN
BRAHMYAM
DAIVIKAM
MANUSHAM & DAIVIKAM }
PARTLY

VIMANAM
SANTIKAM
PAUSHTIKAM
JAYADAM

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Sketch (b) no Kautukam installed —In this case the Dhruva Murti will be in the Brahma Sthānam.¹ The floor space is divided into 49 equal small squares by dividing each side into 7 equal parts and drawing lines across on the floor. It will be seen that of the 49 small squares there is one small square centrally placed. This is the **Brahmyam** where the Dhruva Murti will be installed and worshipped directly. Eight small squares surrounding the Brahma Sthānam will form the Daivikam zone ($3 \times 3 - 1 = 8$). Sixteen small squares surrounding the Daivikam will make up the Mānusham zone ($5 \times 5 - 3 \times 3 = 16$). The remaining twenty four squares will form the Paisācha zone. If the Dhruva Murti is in the sitting posture a portion of the Daivikam will also be appropriated. Similarly a portion of the Mānusham in Sayana posture.

In addition to the Dhruva and the Kautuka Murtis there will be other images to be accommodated. Brahma will be to the right side of the Dhruvam and Rudra on the left side. The former would occupy the Manusham zone and the latter partly Manusham and partly Paisacham zone. The allocation of the zone for the Dhruva Murti (according to Sketch b) is also dependant on the type of Vimanam over the garbha griham. If of the Paushtika type (𑖦𑖳𑖫𑖨) the Murti will be placed in the Daivikam zone; if of

1 "Dhruvārchā chēt garbhāgāram saptasapta vibhāgam kṛtvā Tan madhyē chaikam padam Brāhmaṇam Brahma Sthāne Sthāpayēt Sāntikam, Daivikē paushtikam, Dēva-mānushayōr-madhyē Jayadam, Ēvam Dhruvārchām samsthāpayēt"

Marichi Samhita 15th patalam p 61, telugu script edition.

the Sāntika type He will be in the Brahma Sthanam, and if of the Jayada type partly on the Daivikam and partly on the Manusham zone. It will be noted that in the arrangement when the Vimanam is Paushtika or Jayada the Brahma Sthanam would be left vacant. There will be no place for a Kautukam in this class of temple. One important inference we draw is that the installation of a Kautuka Beram is not an essential part of temple worship. The Dhruva Murti could be worshipped directly¹. The use of the terms Brahmyam Daivikam, Mānusham and Paisācham needs some explanation. According to mythology, in the Adī Murti or Brahman the three guṇas Sātvam Rājas and Tamas are equally balanced and the one does not act on the other. When Brahma first commenced his creative activity he produced from the upper portion of his body the Devas who were all of pure Sātvic nature. The Daivika zone denotes this. Next from out of the mid portion of his body he produced human beings whose predominant guṇa is Rājas. So the next zone in the garbha griham is called Mānusham where images of human beings who rose to the rank of immortals would be placed. Brahma the foremost of the jīvātmas occupies the same. Then Brahma from the lower portion of his

1 The terms Sāntikam, Paushtikam and Jayadam are used to denote Vimanams whose height in proportion to the base increases gradually — Vīmāna vipulasya saptaśasūti śādam Sāntikam aśṭaśāśūtiśādam Pau hīkam pādśasadvigunam Jayadam.

body created Rākshasas, Pisāchas, etc., whose predominant guna is Tamas. Rudra whose predominant guna is Tamas is therefore placed in the Paisācha zone, while Brahma whose main guna is Rajas and who is the foremost of the jivatmas occupies the Mānusha zone. Bhrigu, Mārkaṇḍeya, Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumāra and the Nava Brahmas crossed the ocean of birth by their bhakti and penance and are placed in the Daivika zone very near to the Dhruva Murti. (The Kautuka, Snapana, Utsava and the Bali berams which are to be seen in the gaibha griham will be considered separately).

The Dhruva Murti.

Except that the Dhruva Murti should have the distinctive features of Viṣṇu there is no restriction placed on the form which the Bimbam should assume, nor the name by which the Murti would be known. In very many of the old temples in the Tamil country which have been sung by the Ālvārs the Dhruva Murti is not a representation of any of the well known avatārs of Viṣṇu. Their names have been associated with or borrowed from the name of the village. But they bear those marks which unmistakably show that the Murti is Viṣṇu. The injunction given in the agama (Marichi Samhita 20th patalam page 88) is that for archana purposes the Murti should be distinctly described as having the characteristic features. The colour should be Svēta for a murti of the Kṛita yuga, Rukma (gold colour) for Tīetāyuga, for Dvapara yuga, Rakta

colour, for Kali yuga Syāma colour. In practice Syāma is considered to be the ruling colour for Murtis of all Yugas. Besides the colour the other characteristic features to be mentioned are Vahana Kētu (dhvaja) Nama nakshatra Patni, Bijākshara, Ravāh (Sabdham or dhvani). These have to be assigned to every dēva. Vishnu is therefore described as being of Syāma varṇa Pitāmbaradhara (Yellow clothes) Kriṣṇa Kēyūra, Hāra Pralamba Yagnō pavita and as Srivataṅka, Chaturbhajah Sankha chakradharh, Abhaya Katyavalambita hastah Garudadhvajavāhanah, 'A (ॐ) kāra Bija, Pancha Sabda Ravō Dakshina vāmayōh Sri Bhūmi Sahito Vishnuh. The other divine weapons and divine ornaments are not mentioned here because they are optional. In some postures and mental conditions even Sankham and Chakram are omitted. The pralamba yagnōpavitam (the sacred thread) Srivatsam and Katisūtram (waist thread) should invariably be seen. Even Sri Devi might be absent.

The Murti should be located on the piṭham which as has already been mentioned consists of four planks (Dharmam Gnānam Ausvāryam and Vairāgyam) bound together by three glittering bands called Trimukhala running round the four sides and spaced at equal intervals. On the piṭham and under the mūrti is the eight or sixteen petal Padmam.

The āgamas have designed different postures and different conditions in which the Murti could appear

THE YOGA, BHOGA, VIRA, ABHICHIARIKA STATES

The attendant dēvas for each such state are mentioned in the āgamas. The postures as already mentioned are standing, sitting, reposing or lying in bed and moving or walking. The mental states in which He might appear in each of the above postures are Yōga, Bhōga, Vīra, and Ābhichārika. The type of Murti selected for installation would largely depend on the requirements of the locality and the bent of mind of the people. If spiritual culture is the pressing need a Yōga mūrti would be installed. The superstitious belief is that a Yōga murti in the heart of a town would bring about the extinction of its material prosperity. Therefore the site for such a temple should be on the outskirts of the town. If the desire of the people is to have greater material prosperity in the place and the promotion of fine arts and literature, a Bhōga murti would be installed in the heart of the town. If the promotion of war mentality and military science are the aims, a Vira Murti would be installed in a secluded place just outside the town. But for the effective defence of the country and the safety of the people, dependence is always on Viṣṇu. Therefore an ābhicharika murti would be installed in forests and on hills along the boundary line between kingdoms, and overlooking the enemy country to keep off enemies¹.

1 "Yōgādīn yōga mārgam, Bhōgādīn Bhōgam, Vīryādīn Vira mārgam. Satrujayādīn ābhicharikam kārayēt. Grāmāi bāhyē, viviktē dēsē nadī tīrē, tatsangamē, pārvatē, vanē pārsvē vā Yōga Sthānakam. Grāmāntarē Bhōga sthānakam. Tasmīn-tad-bāhyē vā Vira sthānakam, Vana giri jala durgē rāstrante Satrudīn(k) mukhē cha Ābhichārikam bhavati."

Marichī Samhitā 19th Pāṭalam (Telugu edition) p 78.

HISTORY OF TIRUPĀTĪ

Distinguishing features of the Yōga, Bhoga, Vira
and Abhicharika forms.

(Uttama Madhyama & Adhama)

(1) Colour of the Murti —(a) Syama in Yōga sthanakam, Bhōga sthanaka Bhōga asanam and Bhōga sayanam, Vira sthānakam Vira sayanam (b) Pita Syama (darkish yellow) in Yōga sayanam (c) Svēta (white) in Yōga asanam (d) Pravala (coral) in Vira āsanam, (e) Dhūma (Smoke) in Ābhichārīka sthanakam, and (f) Neela (blue) in Abhicharika asanam and sayanam

(2) Number of Hands —(a) Four hands in Yōga sthanakam, Yōga āsanam Bhōga sthānakam Bhōga āsanam and Bhōga sayanam, Vira sthanakam and Vira sayana, Ābhichārīka sthānakam (b) Two hands in Yōga sayanam Abhichārīka āsanam and sayanam.

(3) Sri Devī and Bhu Devī —(a) Without, in Yōga sthanakam Yōga asanam, Yōga sayanam Vira sthanakam and in the three states of Ābhichārīkam (b) With in Bhōga sthanakam, asanam and sayanam in Vira asanam and sayanam

(4) Posture of lower hands —(a) In Yōga sthanakam lower right hand in Abhaya and the lower left hand in Katyavalambita (b) in Bhoga sthanaka lower right hand in abhaya or varada posture and the lower left in Katyavalambita Simhakarna posture (c) in Vira asanam lower right hand in abhaya and the left in Simha Karna posture (d) in Bhoga asanam

DISTINGUISHING FEATURES IN DIFFERENT STATES

lower right hand in Varada Abhaya posture and the lower left in juxtaposition with the thigh and waist in the Ankakatika Vinyasta Simha Karna posture (e) In Yoga asana lower right hand resting on the seat and the left hand on the thigh (f) In Yoga sayanam one hand below the head and the other extended to the thigh So also in the Bhōga sayana and Vira sayana Nothing stated about the posture of the hands in the case of Vira sthanakam and all Abhicharikam states.

(5) Sankha and Chakra in hand.—(a) With in Yōga sthanakam, Bhōga sthanakam, Bhōga asanam, Vira sthanakam, Vira āsanam and Vira Sayanam (b) Included among the Panchayudhas in Yōga āsana and Bhoga sayana (c) Without in Yōga sayana, and in all the Abhicharika states.

(6) Abharanam :—The divine ornaments are mentioned only in Yōga āsana and Yōga sayana states

(7) Ananta or Sesha :—Without in all the sthanaka and asana postures. Mentioned only in sayana States In the Yōga, Bhōga and Vira sayana, Ananta will have five, seven or nine hoods In the uttama Abhicharika sayana two hoods, in the madhyama one hood In the Adhama abhicharika there will be no anata and the Murti will be flat on the bare level floor.

(8) Garuda and Vishvaksena and Sapta rishis :—Represented in the Yōga sayanam Garuda and Sapta rishes only in the Bhoga and Vira sayana.

None of these will be seen in the sthanaka and āsana states of Yōga Bhōga and Vīra and in all three states of Ābhichārīka.

(9) Madhu Kaitabha and Brahma on the navel lotus —Represented only in the sayana condition of Yōga, Bhōga and Vīra but not in the Ābhichārīka

(10) Brahma and Sankara —Will be present in all cases, except in the Yōga sthanaka Madhyama and Adhama conditions

(11) Bhrigu and Markandeya —Omitted in the following cases, Yōga sthanaka adhama state, in the adhama state of Bhōga āsana in the adhama state of all sayana forms and in none of the forms and states of the Ābhichārīka

(12) Surya, Chandra —Present in the uttama states of Yōga āsana Yōga sayana Bhōga sthā naka āsana and sayana Vīra sthānaka āsana and sayana. In the madhyama state of Bhōga sthanaka Vīra sthanakam, Bhoga āsanam Vīra āsanam. In all the three states Bhoga and Vīra sayanam. In other Cases not present

Bhoga Sthanaka—Special assemblage

Sanaka Sanatkumara, Tumburu, Nārada, Maya Sambladim Vyajini, Kinnara mithunas Yaksha Vidyadharas form the special assemblage along with Sūrya and Chandra in the Uttama state. Tum buru Narada, Yaksha Vidyādharas are omitted in the madhyama and in the adhama state would also be omitted Sanaka, Sanat kumara, Surya Chandra and Bhrigu Markandeya.

ATTENDANT DEVAS IN THE DIFFERENT STATES

Vira Sthanakam:—Kishkindha, Sundara, Vyā-jini, Sanaka Sanatkumara, Surya Chandra form the special assembly. Omission of Kishkindha, Sundara, Sanaka and Sanat Kumara makes it madhyama. For the Adhama State Surya and Chandra are also omitted.

Yoga asana:—Special assemblage is made by Sanaka, Sanat Kumara, Surya and Chandra (Uttamam). Their omission makes it madhyamam. Omission of Bhrigu and Markandeya makes it adhama.

Bhoga asanam Special assemblage:—

Māya, Yaksha, Vidyadharas, Sanaka, Sanat Kumara, Surya, Chandra, Tumburu, Narada, Kinnara mithunas. Omission of Kinnara mithunas, Tumburu, Narada, Yaksha Vidyadharas makes it madhyamam. Omission of also Sanaka Sanat Kumara, Surya, Chandra and Bhrigu, Markandeya makes it adhama.

Virasanam Special assemblage.—Sanaka, Sanat Kumara, Tumburu, Narada, Vyajini. If the above are omitted, madhyama. If Brahma, Sankara, Surya, Chandra, etc., are omitted, adhama.

Bhoga Sayanam Special assemblage formed by:—

Vakratunda and Vindhya-vasini, Madhu, Kaitabha, Garuda, Apsaras, Surya, Chandra, Tumburu, Narada, Asvinis, Ashta lokapalas (Indra, etc). If Tumburu, Narada, the eight lokapalas and Asvinis are omitted, it becomes madhyamam. If Bhrigu, Markandeya and apsaras also are omitted, the rest is adhama.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Vira Sayanam Special assemblage —

Kinnara mithunams, Surya Chandras Sapta Rishis Dvādasa adityas, Ekadasa rudras Jayādīsā Apsaras Tumburu Narada Sanaka Sanat Kumara make it Uttama Omission of the Rudras Adityas Apsaras makes it madhyama. If Kinnara mithunas Sanaka Sanat Kumara and Bhrigu Markandeya are omitted it will be adhama.

Abhicharika State —In the ābhicharika condition (standing, sitting and sayana) excepting Sesha in the Uttama and Madhyama States (and not even he in the Adhama State) there will be no deva attendants. The temple will be without a Vimanam and the mūrti installed on an inauspicious day and hour. The mūrti will have lean and lanky limbs, the countenance and particularly the eyes will be weird looking. The only marks to characterise the murti as Vishnu will be the Yagnōpavitam, the Kaṭi sutram and the Srivatsam. In the sayana posture of the Uttama state the Murti will be on the Sesha having two hoods but one hood only in the madhyama State. The murti's look will be one who is pronouncing incantations against the enemy.

The Dhruva Murti might therefore assume any physical or mental state. It was also stated that He might occupy the Brahma Sthanam and have no Kautuka Beram with him. But it is not usual to instal a Dhruva Murti of this Kind. We are used to seeing in almost all temples a number of portable images which are intended to represent the Dhruva

Murti during the daily puja and on special occasions. We have in fact four such portable images called the Kautuka, the Utsava, the Snapana and the Bali Berams. All the four are considered by us to be essential for temple worship. But at one time it was not so considered. In the Shanmurti and the Nava murti alayams the Kautuka Beram only figured along with the Dhruva Murti and the four Vyuha murtis, or in addition to the above Nairā Narayana Nīsimham and Vārahā. There was obviously no provision for a Utsava, Snapana and Bali Berams. We are told that the Vyuha murtis had each its own Shrine and a separate Kautukam. In this connection it is worth stating what the Bhrigu Samhita says in connection with the installation of Murtis in a new temple (Chapter 12, Bhagavat pratishṭha vidhih, page 77 and 78). The maximum number of images which could be installed to represent the group—Dhruva Murti and associated Berams—is nine. They are the Dhruva Murti Vishnu, including Sri Devi and Bhu Devi, Purusha, Satya, Achyuta and Aniruddha. All these are presumably stationary images. In addition to these five, are the four portable Idols of Kautuka, Utsava, Snapana and Bali Berams. (The Utsava Beram will have Sri Devi and Bhu Devi images in company). Thus nine images could be installed. But it is not mandatory. The agama says that it is left to the donor to choose those images only whose daily worship could unfailingly be provided for by him¹.

1. Āyātu Bhagavān uktvā Dhruva Bērasya mūrdhani
Vishnum cha Purusham Satyam Achyutam chānirud-
dhakam

The karta could, if he is unable to provide for the naivedyam of all the bērams instal only those for whom he could provide unfailingly. Thus he might instal the four Vyūha murtis and the Kautukam alone. Or he might dispense with the Vyūha murtis and instal the Dhruva Murti and the four bērams, viz., Kautukam, Utsavam, Snapanam and Bali, or any one or more of these. That such partial installations were not uncommon could be gathered from what is stated in the Samhitas¹ about finding a portable bēram for the annual festival celebrations. It says that if an Utsava bēram with the two Devis is not available, the Snapana bēram could be used. If even that is not available the Bali bēram could be used. In the worst case the Kautuka bēram could be used even if it has no Dēvis by the side. Thus a temple having a Dhruva Murti and a Kautuka Bēram could well celebrate the Brahmotsavam making use of the Kautukam itself.

Achalē Dēva dēvāṁ vyākṛya tishṭhatīti Brūṣiḥ
 Sriyē jātēti mantrēna Sriyam āvāhayēt hradbhā
 Mēdicitī cha mantrēṇa Hariṇam samyagāhṛayēt
 Kautukē cha utsavē chalva Snāpanē Bali bērakē
 Prapīdhi mudōhrītya tatkalā dipāt dipamiva kramāt
 Dhruva bērat samāvāhya Kūrchēnāvāhayet kramāt
 Navadhā mīrgamalōkyā Yādīśam karturichchayā
 Avichchinnārchaṇam nītyam vidhīnva prakalpayēt
 Asaktarchēt tathā kartum pralīṣṭhām naiva kṛayēt.

1 Vide page 316 Marichi Samhita "తన దేవాలయ ప్రసక్త దేవ
 ప్రసక్తప్రసక్తం దేవ్యం తదాచే స్పృశం తదాచే కృతం చాచ్యుత్య"
 and page 226 Bhṛigu Samhita. Telugu script edition stanzas 69
 and 100.

KAUTUKA, UTSAVA, SNAPANA AND BALI BERAMS

A reading of the T T D inscriptions I. 8 para 5 and I 9 para 2 shows that the Kautuka Beram, Bhoga Srinivasa (Manavāḷapperumāl) was actually used for the annual festival and was taken out in street processions also on all the nine days morning and night In those days there was neither a Utsava Bēram nor a Snapana nor Bali beram in Tirumalai.

The above account shows the status and relative importance of the Kautuka, the Utsava, the Snapana and the Bali berams But the current practice is to instal all these four idols to serve as proxies of the Dhruva Murti The Snapana bēram is used for all snapana tirumanjanams (ritualistic abhishekams). The Utsava beram serves for all festivals and the Bali beram should be used for celebrating the nityōtsavam when Bali is distributed to all the parivāra devatas in the temple The Kautukam alone should be the true and exact copy of the Dhruva Murti He receives the abhishekam and the various acts of the daily archana The Kautukam alone occupies the Brahmasthanam. The Utsava Beram would be placed to the left of the Dhruva Murti, the Snapana and the Bali beram would be on the right side ¹

But if there be insufficient space in the garbhagriham the Utsava, Snapana and Bali beram could

"Dēvasya vāmahāgē tu sthāpayet bimba mautsavam
Snāpanam Balibēram cha dakṣhinē sthāpayēt budhaḥ "

be accommodated in the mukhamantapani or the antaram as well¹

There is also one other feature in connection with the daily pūja which raises the suspicion that even the Kautuka bēram had some times been occupying a separate shrine within the limits of the third avaranam of the temple. After the daily abhishekam is finished the Kautuka beram is shifted back to the Brahma sthanam (from the Snapana piṭham) and nyasam is done to the devas who occupy the first three avaranas. The devas in the first two avaranas surrounding the Dhruva murti are the murtis who are presumed to be in the actually existing avaranams in the temple. They are the manifestations of the Adī murtis as Vyūhas and Vyuhantaras occupying the first avaranam and the Vibhava and Vibhavantaras occupying the second āvaranam. The devatas in the third avaranam are the Dikpalas (Indra etc., After nyasam is done to these, there is again nyasam done for a duplicate set of āvarana devas surrounding the Kautuka Bēram. Two separate averanams are mentally conceived as if in existence. The devas for these two fictitious avaranas are separate from those of the Dhruva Murtis avaranama. Although this conception of a duplicate set of avaranas is now a mere fiction there is the

1 Aitha vakshye visesaga pūjanam chaṇ saavāśishu
 Brahmasthānam kautukasya pūrvamēva samiritam
 Paravayūḥ kantukasyātha sthāpayet snapananteavanu
 Uti re kautukasyaiva balibērasya samasthith
 Garbhālayasya sankoche tvalhavā mukhamanjanpā
 Antastāle thava sthāpya pūjyēt snapanotsavan

(Dhṛigu Telugu ed. p. 146)

suspicion that the Kautuka beram would have been accommodated separately, if not permanently yet temporarily for some days (as during festivals when the Kautuka acts the part of Utsava beram) This accommodation would have been inside the third avaranam, but away from the first two avaranams of the Dhruva Murti. A place like this would have been called Turuvilankoyil, such as the one in which Bhōga Srinivasa was first consecrated. The two Devis (Sri and Bhū) or Sri Devi only will be with the Dhruva Murti in almost all cases. But in the Yōga and Ābhichārika sthitis there will be no Devi with the Dhruva Murti. Even if there should be the Devi, the nyāsam for Her will be done only after the nyāsam for the devas in the first two avaranams and the nyāsam for the Dikdevās are finished. This disregard is understandable to us who regard the Devis as being co-equal with Vishnu and therefore entitled to worship next only to Him. The Devas of the first two āvaranams are manifestations of the Adī muti and they face outwards, Bahir mukham. The devas of the third āvaranam are beings created by Brahma and belong to the Brahmandam. They face inwards (antar mukham) and the nyāsam for them would therefore be inwards.

Parivara devas within the garbhagriham, the Vimanam and the first avaranam.

Alongside of the **Dhruva Murti** some other devas should be and were installed according to the agama rules. In the more ancient temples these images

could be seen even now. But in recent constructions they are omitted. During the daily pūja however they have to be thought of and nyāsa flowers in their name deposited between the feet of the Dhruva Murti. These devas are of two classes. Some are presumed to be present at all times and under all conditions. Others are permitted to be present when the Dhruva Murti is in certain Sthitis, such as Yōga Bhōga and Vira. This has already been tabulated in this chapter.

Dvara devas dvarapalas, Vimana palas, Vishvak-sena, Sri Bhutam and Garuda will always be in their respective places. They are anapayina. Brahma, Sankara Mārkaṇḍēya and Bhrigu will not be present in certain Sthitis. But during the daily puja they are treated as being present and nyāsam is done for them and the flower placed between the feet of the Dhruva Murti. Their names and the place they occupy will now be given.

DVARA DEVAS—Dhātā and Vidhātā (brothers) stand on either side of the pradhāna dvāram within the garbha griham in the spot called Gandharva sthānam. They are the sons of Bhrigu by his wife Khyati. Dhātā is on the south side and Vidhātā on the north side of the entrance facing north and south respectively. The door frame has four devatas in it. On the bottom piece is Bhuvanaga lying on his back with his head to the south and facing up. He is of neela colour. On the lower face of the top piece is Patanga lying on

his back with his head to the north and facing down. He is of white colour (sukla). The side frames are occupied by **Patira** and **Varuna** (south and north side respectively) standing erect facing north and south. They are both of suvarna colour. **On the outside** of the dvāram (doorway) are the two dvarapalas **Manika** and **Sandhya**. **Manika** on the south side, of svēta colour, **Sandhyā** on the north side, of kanaka colour.

“Manikam mahābalam vimalam dvāra pālakam Sandhyām Prabhāvatīm jyōtīrūpām drudhāvratām.”

The **VIMANAM** which towers above the Garbhagriham is guarded by four devas (**Vimana palas**). **Nyaksha** stands right above the doorway on the east side of the base of the Vimānam facing east. **VIVASVAN** is on the south side facing south, **MITRA** on the west facing west and **KSHATTA** on the north facing north. (When the temple is of the Adhama type there will be only Nyaksha, since there may be no Vimānam to boast of)

MUKHAMANTAPAM DVARAPALAS : — The dvarapalas standing on either side of the entrance into the mukhamantapam are **Vikhanas** on the south and **TAPASA** on the north side

“Vikhanasam tapōyuktam siddhidam sarva-
darsinam

Tāpasam siddhirājam sarvadōshavivarjitam ”

Vishvaksena :—He is as it were the commander-in-chief of the divine forces, or, Vishnu ganas. His

place is at the north-east corner of the north side of the first avaranam close to the foot of the Vimanam facing south ¹ He is agni colour wears yellow (pīta) clothes has all Vishnu's abharanams excepting Srivatsam and Yagnopavīta Has two hands wears flower garlands holds sakti dandam Jaya pati, Srunga kētu

(Sri Bhuta, Garuda, Chakra, Sankha, Dhvaja, Yudhadhipa and Pavakorjuna are the other indispensable parivāra devatās called anapāyins As their place is outside the Garbhagriham, they will be described later)

BRAHMA, SANKARA, MARKANDEYA AND BHRIGU

The images of these dēvas will be found very near to the Dhruva Murti in almost all cases The sthitis in which Brahma, Sankara and Mārkaṇḍēya Bhrigu will be omitted have already been mentioned They are however the most important parivāra dēvas in the Garbhagriham

Markandēya is of Suvarṇa colour a brahmachari (bachelor), wears rakta colour clothes rides padma vāhanam Kūrccam is his dhvajam his sound is that of Sankam ma bijam Markandēyam Punyam Puranam anūtam

Bhrigu —agni colour white (Sukla) clothes padma vahanam Kamandalu dhvajam Rolinīsam

¹ Uḍakprākāśapar vē Vīmānapāśavē Kubērēśānayōrmadhvē dakṣiṇābhīmukhaś cīmhaśaṇḍē samā īśah...

Sankha ravō, 'Bhri' bījam, 'Khyatī' īsa; 'Padmā' pītā

"Padmāpīṭaram Dhātrīnātham, Khyātīsam"

Brahma—His place in the garbhagriham is close to the south wall facing the north; is of gold colour; has four hands, hamsa vāhanam; holds Kamandalu in hand; born in Abhiṣṭ, husband of Sāvitrī; 'ma' bīja; the sound of the Vēdas. "Brahmānam Prajāpatim, Pītāmāham Hīranyagarbham."

Sankara—His place is close to the north wall, white colour (Svēta), wears Vyāghra charma (tiger skin) clothes; has parasu mṛiga in hand (four hands), Vṛishabham (Bull is his vāhanam and dvajam; his sound is that of 'damarukam', 'ma' bījam, born in Ardra, Umapatī, bears Ganga on his head" Gangādharam, Vṛishabha Vāhanam. Ashta mūrtim, Umapatim"

The status accorded to Brahma and Sankara in the pantheon calls for some remarks. The agamas describe in one place the Trimurti and the Dvīmūrti temples where each has His own Shrine with separate antarmandalam round the Shrine. The temple and the prākarams are the same for all. Any one might occupy the central place and any one of the other two might be to the right or left side. This tantamounts to treating them as Devas of equal status. That such was the case is borne out by the description given by Śrī Nammalvar in his account of the temple in Tiruchchengunrūr (chirrāṇṇankarai) in the Malai nadu country bordering on Tiruvānkur.

The Ālvār speaks highly of the admirable way in which three thousand Brahmīns well versed in the Vedas and Vedāṅgas were worshipping the Trimūrtis. The Ālvār describes at the same time the subordinate status given to Rudra in the temple in his birth place and in other places. The mndal ālvāra who flourished about two centuries earlier speak of Brahma, Viṣṇu and Rudra being only different manifestations of the same Nārāyaṇa. Pēyālvār in particular stated that in Tirumalai, the Mūrti was decorated to look like Viṣṇu at one time and like Śiva at another. He said that both the forms aptly fit the Mūrti. We however find that ultimately the āgamas have placed Brahma and Rudra as Devas in attendance on Viṣṇu in the garbhagriham. In the nyāsa stage of the Nityārchara, Mārkaṇḍeya and Bhṛigu are given preference. Then comes the turn of Brahma and Rudra. The nyāsa is offered Abhimukham because they face the Dhruva Mūrti just like the other mortals. Indra, Varuna etc. The nyāsa for the Dēvas who are considered to be the manifestations of the Adī Mūrti are offered 'Bahir mukha' as if facing the created universe and its beings.

The lay worshipper could not by any means notice this differential status since the installation of the images of Brahma and Rudra has long been abandoned evidently owing to the influence of the ācharyas. In temples where these images still stand

1 Compare slokas 140 and 149 pp 133 134 Chap. 18 Bhṛigu Samhita Telugu edition

VIMĀNAM AND ITS IMAGES

as relics of the old order, the Sthalapurāṇams ascribe some reason or other for their retention.

The Vimanam and its Images.

The images found on the Vimanam are not objects of daily worship. But they deserve attention because they are connected with the Vimānam which is a sacred structure. The āgamas specify the kind of image which could find a place therein. The other reason is that there are lay people who, if they only see on the Vimanam of a Vishnu Shrine any image, whether of a Deva or a beast, in any way connected with the Saivite pantheon, at once jump to the conclusion that the temple was at one time a Saivite place of worship. We have known this kind of argument in connection with the Tirumalai Temple. The Vimānam also bears testimony to the fact that the Vyūha, Vyūhantara, the Vibhava and the Vibhavantara forms were at one time being installed within the first and the second āvaranams of the temple. Although this practice was abandoned, their representation on the Vimanam structure continues.

There are several types of Vimanams, three of which the Sāntika, the Paushtika and the Jayada were already mentioned. Enumeration of the several types would interest only those who study the architectural side of the temple, and will therefore be omitted here. The more common type has a square base and is in height about $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 times the side of the base. It may consist of two,

three or more tiers Images made in etucco are usually set up on the four faces in each tier and at the angular points The neck portion between one tier and the next one above are also adorned with images. These will now be mentioned

On the base, or first tier (Mūlatalam) Vishnu murti (of the type in the garbhagriham) would be placed on the east side. On the roof of the mukhamantapam and in front of the Mūlatalam would be images of Tapasam and Siddhidam on the south face of the Mūlatalam there would be Satya On the west face Achyuta and on the North Aniruddha. Vinayaka and Vindhya Vasini (Durga) would be on the north and the south side of the roof of the mukhamantapam

Second Tier Purusha on the east side to the south of the centre and ahakram would be to the north of the centre On the south side Nrisimha on the west Achyuta and on the north Varaham.

In the neck or galam between the two tiers there would be Purusha, Dakshinamurti, Pitamaha (or Brahma) Nrisimha, and Varaham all at the angular points.

At all Corners Garuda or Simham should be placed Plenty of Nrisimhas on the South and the west sides ensures destruction of enemies and success to the King.

A slightly different arrangement in the galam (neck) is given in Bhrigu Samhita. Purusha in the south Narasimham in the west and in the north Hayagrivam

ANAPAYINI PARIVARAS

Images of the Saivite pantheon are also used along with those of the Vishnu pantheon—Indra, Kumarsvami, Umapati, Dakshinamurti, Nrisimha, Sridhara, Brahmanam, Dhanadipa Adi varaha Narahari, Haya-griva, Nara Narayana, the four kinds of Krishna, Purusha, Satya, Achyuta, Ananta and Vasudeva might appear on sides. Ananta and Aniruddha might appear more than once on the north sides just as Nrisimha does on the south and west sides. A true representation of the Dhruva Murti might be placed on the top on the north side.

Anapayi Parivara devatas.

It was already mentioned that these are Sri Bhutam, Garuda, Nyaksha, Vishvaksena, Chakram, Dhvajam, Sankham, Yūdhādhipa, (Akshahanta or) Pāvakāyuna. The place for Nyaksha and Vishvaksēna was already described. It is curious that Ananta or Sesha is not mentioned as one of the Anapayinis.

Sri Bhutam—is brahmachārī (bachelor). His weapon is a danda (stick), Vāhanam and dhvajam Simham, He is of white colour, wears rakta colour clothes; faces outwards (bahimukha), born in Bharani nakshatra of Phalguna month. His place is in the middle of the Sōpanam (Stepping stone) of the mukhamantapam doorway or in the third part of the first avaranam front space.

“Sri Bhutam Svētavainam Vaishnavam Mukha-
pālinam ”

Garuda¹—bright in colour Sukapinchāmbara clothing wears all ābharanas wears Kīritam, has serpents of five colours on his body two hands folded in anjali posture Vāyu vāhanam, his place is usually in the second avaranam, but in a small temple having only one avaranam his place will be in the third quarter space of that avaranam In fact Chakram, Dhvajam, Sankham, Mahabhutam and akshahantam would all be placed in this quarter in successive order If there are three avaranams Garuda will be located in the second quarter of the second avaranam.

Chakram, Dhvajam Sankham, etc.,

Chakram will be in the third quarter of the second avaranam

Sankham will be in the second quarter of the third avaranam

Dhvajam will be in the third quarter of the third avaranam.

Yudhādhipa will be in the third quarter of the fourth avaranam.

Akshahanta in the third quarter of the fifth avaranam, or outside of the Gopuram and in front of, but just outside, the centre line. If as stated before all are placed in the first āvaranam itself Garuda will be in the second quarter from the foot of the Vimanam Bali pltham will be in the third quarter If there be only one avaranam the temple

1 More details about Garuḍa are given as foot note.

will be classed as adhamādhama (lowest) Such a temple would have only Vishvakṣena, Garuda, Śi bhūtam, Nyaksha and Bhūtapītham There will not be Dhvaja, Chakra, Sankha, and akshahanta in an adhamādhama temple.

Chakra is of angārika colour, rakta colour
 clothes, Analaja, pravṛtta vāhana, 'A' bija Sudar-
 sana.

"Sudarśanam chakram Sahasra vikacham
 anapayinam."

Sankham—to the east of Chakram. Pāñcha-
 janya, Raktavastram, Bhūtakṛiti Śnas, Sankha's
 sound, Hamsa vāhana, Karna Sabda rava, Vārūnī
 pati; 'Sa' bija, analaja, "Pāñchajanyam, Sankham,
 ambujam Viṣṇu priyam "

Dhvajam—to the east of Sankham Hāṭakābha
 Vāyu vāhanam, Simha ravō 'Ja, bijam; Jayapriyā
 pati, dvibhuja, Padmadhara āsanam; right foot
 extended, left foot bent and having serpent with it;
 hands folded over the heart in anjali

"Jayam atyuchchṛitam dhanyam Dhvajam "

Yudhadhipa—to the east of above Facing out-
 wards on pītham, white colour, rakta clothes, Bhūta
 ākaram two hands having dandam, 'Bhu' bija,
 mahābhutam.

"Yudhadhipatim Nityamugram Mahābhūtam "

Pavakarjuna—on pītham to the east of above,

gold colour Padmanētram, Krishna Kunchita mūrdhaja, Bhutākāram, Krishnavastram Kumbha adaram, two hands with dandam, asvini born, Simha Dhvaja Vahanam 'Bhn bija, Samukhi pati, Vishnu bhutam

"Pāvakōrjunam akshahanta, Vishnu
bhutam

In practice all the five Chakra Sankha Dhvaja, Yūdhadhipa and Pāvakōrjuna are placed in one line behind the Balipitbam 'Balipittha parsvē samyōjya archayet iti kēchit (Marichi Samhita, Telugu Script page 102 top two lines)



CHAPTER XII.—(Contd.)

SECTION V.

THE DEVAS IN THE SEVEN AVARANAS.

Prathamavarana devas.

The devas at the four cardinal points (E. S. W & N) are the well known Vyūha avatars, Purusha Satya, Achyuta and Aniruddha. Those at the four intermediate angular points commencing with S. E are Kapila, Yagna, Nārāyana and Punva. These four seem to be from out of the Vyūhāntaras. But as was already pointed out more than once not one of these is represented as an image in that āvaranam. Their names are recited and mentally the archaka during the nyāsa is presumed to draw a picture with all particulars of each deva at the time. (These particulars will be given separately in a note).

Dvitiya avarana devas (Second enclosure)

As in the case of the first avarana devas, here also two sets of devas both of the Vibhava avatars and the Sub Vibhavas are selected. Those at the cardinal points from E to N. are Vārahama, Nārasimham, Vāmanam and Trivikramam; at the angular points S. E. to N. E. are Subhadram, Īśitātmān, Sarvōdvaham, Sarvavidyēsvaram. It will be noted that the four principal Vibhavas selected are those

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who were supernatural and not having human birth and human characteristics.

Similarly two sets of āvarana devas have been coined for the Kautuka murti as already pointed out. They are from east to north-east going clockwise.

First avaranam.

E	S E	S	S W
Subhadram,	Sarvam	Hayātmakam,	Sukhāvaham,
W	N W	N	N E
Rāma dēvam	Samvaham,	Punyam	Suvaham,

Second avaranam.

E	S E	S	S W
Tadvinmitram,	Sanātanam,	Mitram,	Sanandanam,
W	N W	N	N E
Sivam	Sanat Kumāram	Visvam,	Sanakam.

All the above devas face outwards or are Bahir mukham Archana is done on this presumption only

In the second avaranam apart from the Vibhava devas mentioned above there are also the nine planets or Nava Grahas, which face inwards or the garbhagriham therefore antarmukha. The devas who belong to the Vyūha or Vibhava manifestations of the Adimūrti belong to the Vaishnavāndam. But the navagrahas belong to our material universe. Therefore the navagrahas are made to face the Supernatural world It is therefore in this second avaranam of the Dhruvā murti that the supermundane and the mundane beings meet and face each other

AVARANA DEVAS (SECOND AND THIRD)

THE NAVAGRAHAS (Second avaranam).

Aditya (Sun, Ravi)—is placed on the north side of the mukhadvāram of the second āvaranam and **Chandra**—is placed on the South side of the same. They face the west.

The position of Angāraka, Budha, Brihaspati, Sukia, Sani, Rāhu and Kētu, and the direction which each faces are shown on the enclosed chart. They are all of semidivine origin and perhaps for that reason find a place in the second avaranam in preference to Indra and the other Dik devas who are in the third avaranam. Of the asṭamūrti forms of Rudra—Rudra's place is in Ravi and Ravi's son is Sani. Another form of Rudra is Bhavam residing in water whose son is Sukra; Angaraka is the son of Sarvam who resides in Bhumi. Īsana another of the Rudra murti forms resides in Agni; Mahādēvam resides in Chandra whose son is Budha. They are all closely and directly connected with Brahma, the creator.

The Third avarana devas.

They are the Lōkapālas Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirruti, Varuna, Vāyu, Kubēra and Īsana counting from east to north east clockwise. All these devas are antarmukha or facing the sanctum. They represent the first Sātvic creation which came out of the upper portion of Brahma's body. They declined to line on earth and are therefore in the airy regions. The third avaranam affords accommodation for some more devatas along side of its outer portion (perhaps

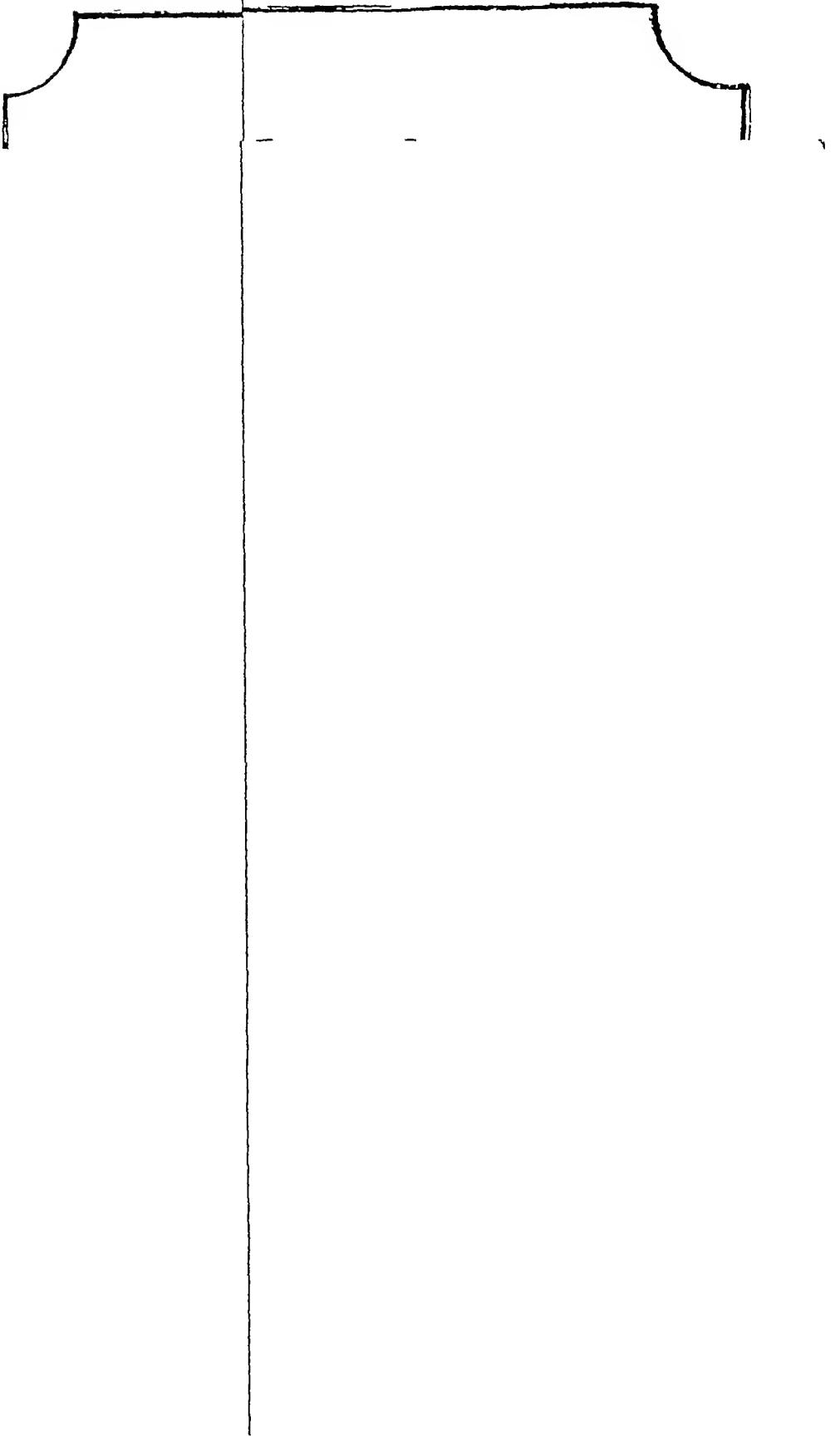
close to the walls) and also for some in the antaralam or open space between the second and the third avaranam walls

Along side of the walls are—Durga on the north side of the mukhadvāram and Ganga on the south side, both facing west. Sarasvati is at S E. and Dhatri (Mahā Kālī) at N E. Yamuna, Sindhu, Narmada, Sree, and Jyeshth are the others. The chart showing the first three avaranams gives the particulars about where they are and which direction they face. In the antaralam are Sura, Sundari, Svaha, Svadha, Samhladini, Raka and Siniwali. Most of these female deities are the daughters of one or the other of the Nava Brahmas. The chart gives particulars of place and the direction they face.

The Lōka pālas, the river deities and the other female deities in the antaralam of the third āvaranam figure frequently in the rituals of the temple as well as in the rituals in our home. They form the connecting link between the Dēvēsa and the beings in the Brahmandam. Agni is the medium through whom all fire offerings are made to which ever Devata the offering may be intended. These ritualistic functions are conducted in accordance with the injunctions given in the Rigveda hymns.

Fourth avaranam.

The fourth āvaranam of the temple conformably represents the four Vedas, their respective Chandas, the kind of homam peculiar to each and so on. The devatas associated therewith are also placed in that



ĀVARANAM DEVAS (FOUR TO SIX)

āvaranam As agni and angaraka are at the S. E. corners in the previous āvaranas Rig Vēdam is placed in that corner of the fourth avaranam. Atharva vēda is placed in the N. E. corner in which direction will be found all those deities which are connected with Īsāna. **Durga and Mahakali** are in that corner in the third avaranam. Vishnu on the right and Siva on the left side will be found in the antarālam of this avaranam. The devas are **Harini, Agni, Toyam, Vayu, and Gavishta**. In the antaralam are Vishnu, Kasyapa, Guha, Panktisa, Pavitra, Pavana, Takshaka, and Siva. Rig Vedam, Yajurvedam, Sama Vedam and Atharva Vedam are at the corners.

Fifth avarana devas.

Along the outer side in the avaranam are **Anumati, Vatsara, Saptamataras, Panchapranas, Jayadayas, Maruts, Sapta rohini, Sata rudras and Kuhu**. (Anumati and Kuhu are two out of the four daughters of Angiras, the other two being Raka and Sinīvāli who are in the north wing of the third avaranam).

Those in the antaralam are **Ekadasa rudras, Dvadasa Adityas, Gandarvas, Munis, Apsarasa, Asvinis, Vasavas and Vidyadaras**.

Some of the collective designations given will be explained in a note.

The sixth avarana Devas.

Narada and Tumburu lead standing on the right and the left side The others are **Hatesa, Ritava,**

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Jambava, Prajapati Mudgala and Asura. In the antaram are Prahlada and Kinnara mithunas to the right and the left on the east side. Then Madana, Vipa, Vyajini, Kamini Chandrabha and Sundara,

The Seventh Avarana devas.

Aryama and Brahma stand on either side of the east entrance as shown. The others are Savita Savitra, Dandadhara, Indraya, Pasabhurut, Rudraya, Dhanada and apa apavatsa. In the antarala are a large number of devas. They are divided into eight groups. Two groups are placed on each side

East side (south Plank)—Ādityā, Satyaka, Bhṛisa, Antariksha, Durgā, Ghōṣṭumukhi, Dhatri and Vapusham (North plank) Isa Parjanya, Jayanta, Mahendra, Nāga Bhūta, and Yaksha.

South side (east plank)—Agni, Vitata, Grahak shata, Rākshasa, Ushna, Jaya and Krishna (West plank) Yama, Gandharva, Bhringarāja, Surunda, Siva and Prāna.

West side (South plank)—Nirruṭi, Dauvārika, Pushpadanta Kavi Chakra and Purūhuta. (North plank) Saritpati Asura, sōshana Rōga, Vidyā, Yaśas, and Bhadra

North side (West plank)—Javana, Nāga, Mukhya Bhallāṣa, Vēdabhurut, Tāpasa, San dhusha, (East plank) Sōma, Argala, Aditi, Sūri deva, Vidya, Amita and Panchabhautika. The second chart shows the arrangement in avaranams IV to VII.

Dvarapalas.

The entrance into every one of the seven āvaranas is guarded by Dvārapālas in the same manner as are the entrances into the gaṇbhagriham and the mukhadvāram. Commencing from the first āvaranam the names of these in pair are—

First	avaranam,	Kishkindha and Tirtha,
Second	do.	Vakratunda and Nagaraja ;
Third	do.	Sankhanidhi and Padmanidhi ;
Fourth	do.	Tuhina and Balinda ;
Fifth	do.	Khadga (Nandakam) and Sarngam ;
Sixth	do.	Sankhacauli and Chakrachuli ;
Seventh	do.	Chanda and Prachanda

Mahat Pitham.

Outside the prakaram walls and in front of the mukhadvāram will be the Mahat Pīṭham whereon the Bali offerings for all unnamed spirits including those of the under world are offered “Sarvān devān samarchayet ”

Ganas.

The devas who face inwards and who are in āvaranas two, three and four have a definite status. Those who are in the avaranas five to seven are of a mixed composition. They are collectively known as Ganas (paṇjanam or congregation of Spirits). By temperament and innate nature some are considered good, some middling and some bad. They are therefore divided into three classes—**Uttama**

ganas, Madhyama ganas and Adhama ganas. The division is as follows —

Uttama ganas —Adityas, Vasudevas, Rudras, Sādhyas, Maruts, Visvēdēvas, Pitris, Mātris, Griha-devatas, Angiras, Asvini dēvas, Stree devas, Lōkēsās Vāstudēvas, Nakshatras, Pārshadas, Tatva patis.

Madhyama ganas —Siddhas, Rishis Nāgas, Asuras, Rākshasas, Yakshas, Vidyadharas, Saura bhēyas Guhyakas, Gandharvas, Apsaras Prajapatis Martyas and Rohinis.

Adhama ganas —Bhūtas Prētas, Pisāchas, Kūsh māndas Pramathas Skandas Bālagrahas Taitālas, Bhairavas Kinnaras Vētālas, Apasmāras, Yōginis Dākinis, Sākinis Chankas, Mōninis Jāghanis

Hindus believe that all these spirits play their part in the universe as much as we do and that therefore they should not be ignored.



CHAPTER XII.—(Contd.)

SECTION VI

TEMPLES AND THE AGAMAS

Main Purpose of Temple Worship Universal Co-operation.

The Agama rituals are based on the recognition of the principle that all forms of life should be made to co-operate with each other. Co-operation facilitates not only material advancement but also spiritual evolution. The active co-operation and help of the more advanced beings are sought and ensured and the impediments likely to be placed by the backward and mischievous spirits are removed or weakened by extending good will to them as well. It is only by ensuring peace, plenty, happiness and contentment all around us that the environment necessary for the practice of yoga and meditation leading to god-realisation could be created and kept up. Therefore **daily puja** is performed and **balī** offered to the various deities so that the general prosperity of the world with a stable and just governance is maintained. The object in performing puja six-times a day is explained thus — **Prathahkala puja** (early morning) is for ensuring the unfailing performance of japas and homas by those whose duty lies that way. **Madhyana puja** is to ensure a flourishing administration or *Rājarāshtra abhivṛddhi*. The **evening puja** is for ensuring abundance of food grains.

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ganas Madhyama ganas and Adhama ganas. The division is as follows —

Uttama ganas —Adityas, Vasudevas, Rudras, Sādhyas, Maruts Visvēdēvas Pitris Mātris, Griha devatas, Angiras, Asvini dēvas Stree devas, Lōkēsās Vāstudēvas Nakshatras, Pārshadas, Tatva patis

Madhyama ganas —Siddhas Rishis Nāgas, Asuras Rākshasas, Yakshas Vidyādhara, Saurabhōyas Guhyakas, Gandharvas Apsaras Prajāpatis Martyas and Rohinis.

Adhama ganas —Bhūtas Prētas, Pisāchas Kūsh māndas Pramathas Skandas, Bālagrabas Taitalas, Bhauravas Kinnaras Vētālas Apasmaras, Yōginis Dākinis, Sākinis Chankas Mōninis, Jāghanis

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and pulses (Sarva sasya abhivṛddhi) The dawn puja (Ushahkala puja) is for increase of population and cattle wealth (Prajā pasu abhivṛddhi) the aparahana (after noon) puja is for the destruction of daityas (the evil doers) and the ardharatra pūja is for increase of all quadrupeds. Thus the daily puja is not only a prayer for being given our daily bread but also for all round happiness and contentment. The spirits to whom bali food is offered are not being thereby worshipped and propitiated. The food offering is made because we have to share our prosperity with all living things. These devatas face the garbha griham in the same manner that we do. The Bali homam is done and the food so consecrated is distributed to all the devatas under the superintendence of the Bali Bēram. This is universal charity which must be practiced in self interest at least. We and the spirits are inter dependent and co-operative effort is necessary for the fulfilment of the purpose of creation as we understand it.

Annual Festivals or Kalotsavam.

The purposes for which the recurring annual festival is celebrated are for world wide peace, all round plenty and prosperity for successful administration of the country for the destruction of all its enemies and for freedom from fear of famine and pestilence. This kind of festival is considered

1 Varshad m sarvalōka ya stitidam sarva pushtidam Raj
 Hini vijayadinīya Satrūnām utarā hētavē Vyādhi durbhiksha śant
 yartham utsavam karayet budhah

imperative and should be timed every year in the month in which the first consecration took place so that the 9th. day (forenoon) is concurrent with the installation nakshatram. Flag hoisting should invariably be done. The period might be 21 days, 14 days, or 9 days. Such long period festivals might also be celebrated when foreign invasion, pestilence or the appearance of comets forebode evil to the country. Private individuals might also celebrate in fulfilment of vows taken

The main point which deserves our attention is the manner of celebration. The festival is for the benefit of all living things in the universe. All beings irrespective of their spiritual attainments and relative importance are invited to attend the grand festival of 'Yagna for Śrī Viṣṇu.' They are invited and installed each in its appropriated place. Food, water and flowers are provided for all. This function of extending universal invitation is a grand idea and bears testimony to the spirit in which the agamas work temple worship. The grand procession at its commencement with full temple paraphernalia and the representative murti

-
- 1 Priyatam Bhagavān Viṣṇus sarva lōkēsvarō Hariḥ
 Brahmēsābhyām cha sahitaschōtsavē nah prasīdatu
 Dēvāscha rishayassarvē pitarscha grahādayah
 Viṣṇu lōka gatās sarvē nānā lōka nivāsinaḥ
 Sarvēnyē dēvatassarvāḥ parivāra ganais saha
 Viśvē tē Viṣṇu Yāgēsunu samāgahcchantu sādaraḥ
 Havyam Balim samādāva bhavantu subhadrāṇaḥ
 Ityuktivā ghōshayet Sandhan chaktasyābhimukhaḥ punah

Bhṛigu Samhita Chapter 24, p 211 (Slokas 117-120).

in tiruchchi vehicle starts from the garbha griham, goes round the temple prākarama, then through the streets surrounding the prākārams and thence to all streets, lanes, nooks and corners. All the devas are named and invited, then the collective or group spirits are likewise called to take part in the festival or Yagna and make it a success. They are assured of lodging and food at least twice a day. The proclamation should be made in a stentorian voice at all well recognised points in the village or town.' Slokas 153 to 165 of chapter 24 p 215, 216 (Bhṛigu Samhita) give a clear description of all the devas and ganas who are invited and shown their place in the temple. All the ganas and devas' are also shown in the two charts annexed to this chapter showing the seven avaranama.

1 Sarvā devāḥ Sarva dēvyah Sarve Rishayah, Sarvā Rishi-
patayah servē pitarah sarvāḥ pitṛi patnyah Siddha Vidyādhara
Garuḍa. Gandharva Yaksha, Kinnara āga, Bhūta, Asura Raksha
śādyashtādasa ganāḥ sarvēpyajant vityuktā gṛhāhaye

(Mārici samhita p. 324 Telugu edition).

2 Ahitavyā utsavārthe Devassamyak prakīrtitāḥ
Devādānīncha sarvesham teṣāṃ sthānam pravakshyate
Indrādayo mahā dikṣu vidikṣu cha samāsritāḥ
Tathāikādas Rudras cha Dvādasāṅkarakā api
Vasavaḥ ayurathāṣṭau cha ōmkāraḥ cha vashojkrutam
Eṭc devāḥ trayastriṃsat kṛtāḥ brāhmaṇā purā.
Avinavapi tatretī kēchidāhur manishipah
Trayastriṃsat devatānāṃ sthānam nāṅnyamuchyate
Apare chāpi kṛtavyā nāḍipareve vishakṣataḥ
Aṣṭādasaganānāntu Bhūjapigṇasya dakṣiṇe
Devas cha Rishayah sarve Pitara Dāitya Dhanavāḥ
Asur a chaiva Gandharvāḥ tadhaivāsparśaṅganāḥ
Yakṣāḥ cha Rakṣasāḥ chaiva Agni Bhūtāḥ Pīṭhachakāḥ
Anvīṣitāḥ ganāḥ chaiva tatha mṛitumucham ganāḥ
Mitaras chaiva Rōhinaya Sūrya aṣṭādasā smritāḥ

ALTERNATIVE FORMS OF THE PANTHEON

Alternative procedure.

All temples are not constructed with seven āvaranams. Most temples have only one to three āvaranams. A few might be having more. The agamas therefore divide temples into three main divisions and again provide three sub-divisions in each. These divisions are intended to specify less number of parivāra devatas and anapāyinis and therefore few archakas, parichaiakas and less provision for food offerings. The main divisions are Adhama, Madhyama and Uttama. Again the sub-divisions are one avaranam Adhamādhama; two avaranams Adhama madhyama, three avaranams Adhamottama and Madhyama adhama, four avaranams, Madhyama madhyama, five avaranams Madhyamottama and Uttama adhama, six avaranams Uttama madhyama and seven avaranams Uttamottama. The number of parivāra devas, the number of archakas, parichaiakas and the quantity for food offering are tabulated hereunder (the

Ashtādasa gauśchaitē prōktā vai dēvayōnayah.
Anuktān anyadēvāmscha Indrapārsve samarchayēt
Dēvānam chaiva patnīsha tattatpārsvē samarchayēt
Skandō Vighnascha Durgā cha Jyeshthā chaiva Sarasvatī
Tad ālayē balim dadyat prākārē chottaiṣi vā
Parivārōktadēsē tu Rōhinīyō mātaraś tatha
Rishipatnīsha tās sapta Rishibhūssaha chārcharayēt
Siddhān Vidyādhārāmschaiva Garuda Gandharva Kinnarān
Kimpurushaś chāranān dēvan mahādikshu samarchayēt
Bhūtebyaschātha Yākshābhyaś Pīśāchēbhyaś tathairvacha
Rākshasēbhyaścha Nagēbhyaś sandhau sandhau balim dadēt
Rājavēsmānganē madhyē Indriam chaiva samarchayēt
Tasya dakshinaparsvē tu Jayasrikīrtis samarchayēt "

(Bhṛigu Samhita 24th Chapter slokas 153 to 165)

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parivara devas are in addition to those in the garbhagriham and the anapayins which are essential for all temples)

Class of temple	Additional Parivara devas	No of archakas	No of Paricharakas	Food offer ings Bārams of rice
Adhamadhama	5	1	2	1
Adhama madhyama	16	2	4	2
Adhama uttama	21	3	9	3
Madhyama adhama	32	4	16	4
Madhyama madhyama	42	6	25	5
Madhyama uttama	53	8	32	6
Uttama adhama	63	12	50	7
Uttama madhyama	65	18	64	8
Uttama uttama	68	20	80	10

Note —The other provisions besides rice are not given in the table One barani of rice may be taken to be thirty Madras measures.

The essential devas common to all temples are.—The Dhruva Murti and the Devi or Devis, Brahmā, Sankara Markundeva, Bhṛigu Dhata Vidhatā, Bhuvanga, Patangu, Patera, Varuna, Manikam and Sandhya Vikhanas and Tāpasa, Kishkindam and Tirtham)

The names of the additional parivāra devatas shown in column two of the above statement will now be given only up to Madhyama uttama classes and not for the Uttama series

DEVAS IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF PANTHEON

Adhamādhama temple—Vishvaksona, Garuda, Sribhūtam, Nyaksha and Bhūta pīṭham (5)

Adhama madhyama—(eleven more than above) Indra and the other seven lōka pālas, Bhāskara, Sankha and Chakram. (Total 16).

Adhama uttama--(five more) Vivasvān, Mitra, Kshatta, Dhvaja, Yūdhadhipa (Total 21)

Madhyama adhama—(eleven more) Siddhi, Sree, Havihpālaka, Skanda, Vighnēsa, Sapta mātarah, Purusha, Jyēshtha, Bhārgava, Brahma, Chandra (Total 32)

Madhyama madhyama—(ten more) Bhāskara, Angāraka, Skanda Durga, Saptarōhinyah, Manda, Saptamātarah, Budha, Bṛhaspati, Purusha (Total 42)

Madhyama uttama—Jyēshtha, Sukra, Ganga, Saptarishis, Brahma, Chandra, Rudra, Asvini, Kapila, Panchabhūtas, Sarasvatī etc.,. The same name is found repeated. It is therefore not useful to attempt giving a correct list. We may as well read from the chart what parivānadevas are in successive avaranams

The Tirumalai temple has three avaranams only. The temples in Tirupati have only two avaranams. A permanent Dhvaja is not essential. The agama does not consider Sēsha to be necessary for any class of temple unless the Dhruva Murti is in the Sayana posture. The table given above

showing the classification of temples will however show that a very large number of parivāra dēvatas are intended to be set up as images and that they play their part in the daily worship of a Uttama temple having five to seven avaranams

The agamas place before us a form of temple worship which postulates that an atmosphere of Godliness and spirituality could best be created and sustained only under conditions of peace plenty and contentment in the land. It invites the co-operation of all men, even those of differing creed We could sense this spirit of catholicity in the use of the different kinds of Samit (twigs of certain sacred trees and plants put into the hōmam fire) used in the daily hōmam during the festival days On the first day pālāsam and the second day Bīlvam, third day Sāmīlam, fourth day nygrōdham, Udmbaram sixth day asvattam, seventh day Khādīram, eighth day plāksham, ninth day palasam, but pālāsam and asvattham are considered the best and therefore could be substituted for any of the others when un available

But temple worship is however no substitute for personal worship in every home Temple worship serves to keep our environments in an atmosphere of spirituality most congenial to the practice of personal worship meditation and dhyānam This is why our ancients have enjoined us not to live in a place where there is no temple The form of personal worship is however different from that of temple

worship in some particulars In personal worship the pantheon contains only the Vishnu murti There is no place for any of the satellite deities excepting Ananta, Garuda and Vishvaksena The ganas are all of the Vishnu class The worship is directly to Srīman Narayana. This is the form which is given in Sri Ramanuja's Nityam. Temple worship and Personal worship are therefore supplementary to each other. The acharyas do not at the same time underestimate the part played by the subordinate deities in spiritual evolution. Many do upāsana of one or the other of these for the bestowal of material benefits or such spiritual powers as the particular dēvata has in its power

The lower deities more readily bestow their gifts. "Kāṅkshantah karmanām siddhim Yojanta iha dēvatāh Kṣhipram hi mānushē lōkē siddhirbhavati karmaajā" (Gīta 4-12) Even the bestowal of such transcendent gifts is due to their devotion to the Supreme Deity.

"Labhatē cha tatah kāmān
Mayaiva vihitān hi tān "

It is also the accepted belief that even such worship or Upāsana gradually leads the upāsaka to climb higher, and higher in the ladder of spiritual evolution till the final goal is reached Thus with uninterrupted and continuous bhakti of Surya during seven consecutive births, a mortal as a reward therefor becomes a Rudra bhakta. This continued during seven consecutive births results in his becoming a Vishnu bhakta. Continuous bhakti

of Vāsudeva (Vishnu) during seven more consecutive births brings as reward his becoming one with Vāsudeva (Laya) or Sayujyam¹

The Agamas therefore place before the world a form of worship which gives full scope for all human beings struggling for attainment of spiritual development even while fulfilling the duties of a house holder in this material world. The establishment of material prosperity is a prerequisite for all attempts at renunciation which consists in giving up the enjoyment of the fruits of one's actions Phalatyāgam, not Karmatyāgam. This concern of the agamas is well displayed in the order which they prescribe for the celebration of the annual festival or Kalōtsavam (or Brahmotsavam) of Vishnu. The festival for Mahā Kālī should first be celebrated to grant us immunity from everything which results in sorrows. Next should be celebrated²

1. "Sūryasayaiva tu yō bhakta captajaumāntaram narah
Tasyaiva tu prasādhēna Rudra bhaktah prajāyate
Sankarsyatu Yō bhaktas capta janmāntaram narah
Tasyaiva tu prasādhēna Vishnu bhaktah prajāyatē
Vāsudēvasya yō bhaktas captajanmantaram narah
Tasyaivain prasādhēna Vāsudēve prajāyatē."
2. "Sarvadukhārti śāntiyartham ādau Kālyāṇtsavam charēt
Anyēbhām kṛtva dēvānām śiṣṭabdhūta gapasya cha
Śāntiyartham kṛayēt paschāt śāstroktam Sankarōtsavam
Vīṣṭriguna śāntiyartham saumya mārḡḡṇa vīṣṭuṣhu
Chakra sevāsa samyuktam kṛtyūt Durgōtsavam punah
Sarvēśhamapi dēvānam munināmapi sarvasah
Pitṛnāṇcha grahāṇām cha tatpatnīnām cha sarvasah
Dvijānamapi Śāntiyartham lōkānāmapi sarvasah
Puṣṭiyartham kṛayēt paschat Dēvasasyōtsavam kramāt
Anyathā chēt vīṣṭas ayat sarvēśham cha na samsayah
Tasmāt pariharet vīdvāu grāmāṇau tam vīṣṭabatah

Bhṛigu Samhitā Chapter 24 (p. 201-202)

THE FESTIVAL OF OTHER GODS

the festival of Sankara (Rudra) for the appeasement of Krūra and Sishta ganas. Then a separate festival in honour of Sri Durgā Devi for the appeasement of Viśāstri ganas and for proper functioning of everything. In this festival Sri Vishnu's chakram and Vishvaksēna should escort Sri Durgā Dēvi. As the last item comes the Brahmotsavam of Vishnu (Dēvēsa) for peace to all Devas, all munis, all pirtis and their ladies, all Dvijas and for peace and prosperity to all the lokas. If anything is done contrary to this arrangement great calamity (vinaśam) would certainly take place. Therefore the festival commences first with the grāmadēvata. The idea is that all obstacles should first be removed so that the resulting conditions might prove favourable for spiritual advancement and the practice of personal worship and Yoga. Thus the co-operation of all created beings good and evil is sought and obtained. This appears to be the path pursued by the āgama form of Temple worship.



CHAPTER XIII

RETROSPECT

At this stage it is desirable to review the changes which have been taking place in the character of worship in Tirumalai from time to time

From the chronologist's or the historian's point of view no date can be assigned for the first appearance of the Dhruva Murti of Tiruvēngadamudaiyān. The image takes its name from the hill Vengadam which by itself was always—i.e. as far back as tradition can take us—considered as sacred as the God thereon and therefore formed an object of worship. Like Badri, Brindavan, Gaya or Aliobilam the place itself was sacred and an object of pilgrimage. So did the Vaishnavite always praise Tiruvengadam in their songs. Many who could not find it possible to ascend the thickly wooded hill worshipped the hill and its God at its foot alone and discharged their vows. Great men were doing it and the fact is recorded in an inscription on the north wall of the Mukkotī Pradakshinam. This was presumably the practice till the end of the Pallava rule. Some Brahmins of the mid-country called Tondaimanda

¹ திருவெங்கடையின் பெருமறை—

தருமவையின் திருவடி உரத்ததென திருவடி—

உடனடி செய்தது வந்தபொழுது [முதலாக—] L. 165.

lam who had seen the Chola and the Pandya Desas entertained new ideas. There was to all purposes a self-incarnate image on the Hill, the very idol for an Archa form of worship but without a temple or perhaps sheltered in a small stone mantapa or pavilion, illuminated by the blazing sun or the moon by night. In imitation of the southern Tamils a small stone temple of the Pallava style of architecture was put up consisting of a chamber for the sanctum sanctorum (or Kōyilalvār) and an antechamber for the worshippers to stand. One or two ghee or oil lights (Nanda Viḷakku) were arranged for by the devotees. There must have been some sort of food offering which after the puja went to feed the pūjari and the few other temple servants.

Original Simplicity.

There obviously was not a rigidly ritualistic form of daily worship before we reach the year 966 A.D. The old annual festival in Pūattasī month took since then a more rigid shape according to the Vaikhānasa Āgama. Four other rituals connected with the sun's motion in the heavens and the Muk-kotī Dvādasī formed the principal, rather, the only festive occasions. If a devotee so desired he could celebrate an additional Brahmotsavam technically called Sraddhotsavam and in Tamil Tirukkodit-tirunāl (திருக்கோட்டித் திருநாள்). The temple structure was designed and constructed to satisfy these elementary needs. The consecration of a small silver image in 966 A.D. brought along with it another hall

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called Tiruvilankoyil with probably a small pavilion in front to screen it from the north-east monsoon rains

Neither Sri Alavandar, nor his successors, Tirumalai Nambi, Sri Ramanuja or Anantālvār made any attempt to tamper with or alter the Vaikhānasa form of worship. The only addition made seems to have been the building of Gōpurams and compound walls (prākārams). The food that was offered to the God was simple in quality and limited in quantity, so much so that special instructions were issued that those who were connected with the temple services should feel content with partaking of such food as was offered to the Deity¹. They were also enjoined to lead a celibate life while on Tirumalai and to go to Tirupati to have a relaxation in family life

I 124 (fragmentary)

There was nothing grandiose in the daily services and in the festivals. But there has been from ancient times the faith that the God of Vengadam Hill grants all human desires, material and spiritual, leading by stages to the grant of the boon of God realisation. The Alvars have sung this unequivocally. When a Samavai installed a silver image of Him or a Parantaka Devī amman (both in widowhood, for aught we know) presented a gold pattam we may be certain that the act was for

1 Fragmentary inscription I. 171—
 —செய்யுது அருங்கு அருங்கு—
 —செய்யுது அருங்கு அருங்கு—
 —செய்யுது அருங்கு அருங்கு—

spiritual welfare. When Ghattidōva one of the Yādavarāyas built the temple under the spiritual inspiration of Śrī Ramanuja it must have been likewise. When Ghatti Deva's descendants, Virarākshasa, Thiruvēnkatanatha and Śrīranganatha granted villages for the maintenance of temple worship in due form, it was because there was the family prestige and the innate feeling that there success in life depended on their faith in Thiruvēṅgadamudaiyān. If Sundara Pandya placed a gold gilt Kalasam (in 1260 A. D.) on the Vīmānam or when his queen arranged for the perpetual supply of milk and curds to supplement the daily food offerings, it must have been a thanksgiving service to Thiruvēṅgadamudaiyān, as much as when at a later date Mangideva Maharaja gilded the Vīmanam and Kalasam in 1350 A. D.¹ Such services and grants were of a simple nature. Besides the Yādavarāyas including Vīra Narasiṅga, there was also Vijaya Gandagōpala of the Telugu Pallava lineage who looked to Thiruvēṅgadam for material success in life. In pursuit of this several acts of simple charity were done, such as feeding the limited number of pilgrims resorting to the shrine.

Changes after the influx of the southern Tamils.

It was this normal course of temple worship that underwent a change consequent on the influx of the Tamil Śrī Vaiṣṇavas of the South well versed in the Bhakti form of worship which the Tamil Prabhan-

1 I 179, 180.

dhams of the Alvārs brought into existence All the good things of this world were made to serve the enjoyment of the Deity and the Bhakta in his ecstasy considered himself even as the consort of God

The presence in the Tirumalai temple of a Utsava (or festival) Murti with Bhūdēvi and Sri Dēvi by His side is heard of for the first time in the third year of the reign of Sriranganatha Yadavaraya, 1339 A D,' when an endowment was transferred to the jiyar or Siyan among Siyars (men from the extreme South of India) and reference made therein to the Utsava Murti being seated with Nachchimar It has also been noticed that Tiruvoimozhi was sung in Tirumalai in 1360 A.D.,' for the first time. The Sri Andal cult enters the Tirupati Govindaraja temple about the same time. The Vaikhanasa form of worship has been always free from this form of deification At any rate Utsavar with Bhudevi and Sridevi has not been referred to in any of the inscriptions till 1339 A D But thereafter they are invariably mentioned in inscriptions of every festival procession etc. The only inference one can draw is that Bhudevi and Sridevi did not form a part of the Vaikhanasa form of festival celebrations in Tirumalai at any rate In fact the silver Murti alone was the Utsava murti

As for Andal and the Alvars even to this day they are not to be found in the Tirumalai pantheon,

1 புதுக்கோட்டை 1 104

2 1 107

although their Prabandhams were invariably recited from after 1360 A.D. **Adhyayanotsavam**¹ was celebrated for the first time in 1467 A.D. with **Sattumurai** (birth day celebrations) performed in Sri Ramanuja's shrine to the memory of the Alwars. To this extent there has been a change after 1360 A.D. The numerous festivals which have been a characteristic feature of the South have been slowly introduced in Tirumalai and Tirupati. But these will be dealt with in detail when we go to the Saluva and Vijayanagar period of the history of our temple.

What has to be noted prominently is that, **after the invasion of the South by the Muslims in 1310 and 1328 A.D.** and the sojourn of Sriranganatha of Srirangam for a fairly long period in Tirumalai, the unadulterated form of the **Vaikhanasa System** underwent a change incorporating some of the features of the **Pancharatra system** introduced by the southern acharyas in the temple. Even nautch girls or **Tiruvīdhi Sānis**, who somehow were designated as **Emperumānadiyārs**,¹ became a permanent feature in the **Vaikhanasa temples** before the end of the fourteenth century. It was no longer worship of the strictly puritan type, but worship combined with profit and pleasure, and therefore ever more popular

Bhakti form of worship.

It may not be out of place here to dilate a little on how this **Bhakti form of worship** would

1 I 220, 1466 A.D. Emperumānadiyārs were in the Pancharatra Tiruvilankoyil in Tiruchchukanur even during the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D.

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have exhibited itself in temple worship. The Bhakta clothes himself with the garment which has adorned his favourite Deity, he eats the food which has been offered to Him and he adorns himself with the sandal paste and the flowers which adorned Him. Thus equipped, in ecstasy he sings His praise and dances. So it became desirable, and even necessary, that the best things of this world should first be offered to the Deity and then shared together by His devotees. The sacred texts in Sanskrit and in the Vernacular were repeated before Him in devotion. Thus probably came into existence in the early days the *gōshṭis* of brahmins repeating the Vedas and the Tamil *Tiruvaymoli*, *Prabandhams* voluntarily and with no expectation of reward or remuneration. So also the *Emperumānadiyārs* (vestal virgins) danced and sang and offered *Kumbaharathis* at the close of the street processions. So also *Bhajana* parties and the *Nada-svara* parties.

But in a place like *Tirumalai* or *Tirupati* where the temple worship was of the *Vaikhanasa* school the response must have been poor. So from the beginning artificial aid had to be given in the shape of emoluments. *Adhyapakam*, *Vēdapārāyanam*, *Emperumanadiyars* or *Tiruvidhisani* girls had all to be remunerated. In spite of these inducements the festivals and other functions were not considered sufficiently grandiose. So one *Kaṇḍāḍai Ramanuja Ayyangar* who had visited all the 108 sacred Temples

for Sri Vaishnavas set about a through overhauling from about the year 1468 A.D. For over half-a-century from then this gentleman's attempts were to introduce new festivals due attention being paid to every detail of every function. He was largely responsible for getting Sāluva Narasimha Dēva to help carry out his ideas and recommendations In spite of over five centuries of this grafting process, the Tirumalai Temple has yet retained its simple and rugged Vaikhanasa character.

The Periya Perumal (Mula Murti) has not at any time even to this day admitted inside the Kulasēkharappadī into His sanctum any cooked food besides the four nālī of rice provided in 966 A.D. Fruits, flowers and camphor harathis are the only exceptions All food offerings, however costly they may be, have to be kept outside the Kulasēkharappadī They are all considered as Kāmyārtha offerings and therefore inferior

The next point of the Vaikhanasa individuality is that the daily routine of worship of the Periya Perumal (including of course Manavāḷapperumāḷ or Bhōga Srinivasa) takes precedence over every other item of festival, even if it should necessitate the advancing of daybreak by some hours, what is technically known as rāppadittanam The morning worship thus commences on certain days long before daybreak After the Tiruvārāadhanam, Nyvēdyam, Sāttumurai and Dharma darsanam are completed, the festival, if any, commences.

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In other temples the general rule is that the festivals must be attended to even if it should involve a slight neglect of the Pūja for the Mūla Murti. In such temples after the Tīrthavāri of the Brahmotsavam there is what is known as a Dvādaśa Arādhnam performed in expiation of all short comings which might have occurred during the festival days. But this function is not performed in Tirumalai, nor is that warranted by the circumstances of the case, although in the past under perhaps Pancharatra influence this was attempted to be introduced.

Further once the Dhvajaroḥanam takes place the Utsavar (Malaikuniyaninraperumal) and his consorts the Ubhaya Nāṇchimars occupy a separate pavilion formerly the Tirumamani Mantapam and now the Kalyana Mantapam and do not re-enter the sanctum of Periyaperumal till after the Deepavali Āsthanam. This is as much as to say that Periyaperumal is least concerned with the festivals which take place for the material benefit and satisfaction of votaries.

Lastly there are no images of Alwars, Andal or the other great Vaiṣṇavite Acharyas excepting that of Sri Ramanuja.

The old simplicity and unique character of the temple thus remain unchanged. That temple servants particularly those in the religious portion of the work, should remain celibate while in Tirumalai became a pious fiction some centuries ago. We have realised also that the Bhakti form of worship

ADDITIONS TO ORNAMENTS

with all its paid artificial paraphernalia has another side to the shield. The fight for individual and sectarian rights and emoluments even to the detriment of the impressive performance of duties became during the many centuries so bitter that alien Christian and Muslim judges were asked to decide issues. The vestal virgins ceased to be vestal if ever they were so. Happily for this temple their existence in an oppressive form came to an end during the reign of Sadāsiva Deva Maharaya, except for the actual performance of the Kumbhahārathi.

During all the period from 966 A. D to 1370 A. D. there has been for all we know no notable addition to the Bhūshanam or ornaments for Periyaperumal excepting the gold paṭṭam weighing 40 Kaḷanju set with rubies, pearls and diamonds presented in 1001 A. D. by Queen Parantaka Devi and the gold covering for the Vaikhunṭha hastam (hand) presented by king Hōbala Deva of Tanjai about 1370 A. D. and later Krishna Deva's swords.

Finally the salient point to note is this. From the fact that the **Vaikhanasa Archakas** who were in Tirumalai from long before 966 A.D. **appear to have been Telugu speaking people who never gave up their old customs and their** adherence to the **Chandramanapanchangam** it must be admitted that the Tamil speaking Tirumalai Nambis went to Tirumalai to co-operate with the Vaikhānasas in rehabilitating that place of worship and not to effect any radical changes. Sri Ramanujā pursued the same policy in

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a more masterly manner by bringing into existence the nucleus of an administrative machinery which proved efficient. The temple festivals were however timed according to the solar Vakya pancanga of the southern Tamils.

The Vijayanagar Period.

We must pass on to the period when the Vijayanagar kings played the most prominent part in enhancing the fame of this temple.

How they happen to come into the picture must first be understood. It is known that the Hoysāla Vira Ballala III marshalled his forces to wipe out the Sultanate of Madura. But he is said to have been captured in an ambush and put to death near Trichinopoly. There was however, Singayya Dannāyaka his military commander who left Tirupati about 1336 A.D. handing over his Arisanalayam Nandavanam and the trust properties attached there-to to one of the Jiyars in Tirumalai presumably to enable him to be by the side of his master, the Hoysala King. There was also Sri Vira Kumara Kempana Udaiyar, the son of Bukka raya I, conducting the campaign and Saluva Mangi Deva ably assisting the former as one of the generals. The campaign was successful and the Sultanate of Madura was annihilated.

Looking at these happenings from the point of view of our temple we have to note that up to this date the great patrons and devotees of the temple came exclusively from the Tamil country, with a

THE VIJAYANAGAR PERIOD

few exceptions from the extreme south of the west coast. Not a single inscription do we come across to show that people of the Kannada and Telugu country ever came on pilgrimage to Tirumalai. The first to do so was Singayya Dānnāyaka who came more or less on a military mission, but took that opportunity to do service to the temple by establishing two mathams and Nandavanams each of which he had to hand over to a Tamilian Sanyasi or Jiyar for due performance of the trust charities. Even the inscription relating to this is in Tamil script.

We also find that Bukka I made an endowment of lands for one Tirupponakam food offering (or two) every day (known ever since as the Bukkaraayan Sandhi) and for a Brahmotsavam. This may have been in 1365 A.D. to commemorate the capture of the Mudgal fortress by him. To assign a village he must by then have come in possession of the country. Soon after the conclusion of the campaign Mahāmandalēsvara Mīsaraganda Maṅgi Deva Maharaja did the great service of gold gilding the Viṃanam and the Śikharam of Tirumaladeva. The inscription is in Telugu as well as in Tamil (I 179, 180, 6-7-1359 A.D.) which may be taken to connote the transition period. The citation is not the usual regnal year of the local Yādavarayas or the Pāṇdyas but the Śāka year and the name Vikāri of the Jupiter Cycle. The last time (I 7) we noticed mention of the Śāka year was in Śāka 824 (1002 A.D.) when the Pallava rule had broken down and

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the Chola supremacy was in the course of being established in this part of the country. On the present occasion the Pandyas and the Yādavarayas had both broken down, the Vijayanagar rule had not established itself thoroughly and Mangi Deva himself was not a ruling prince. So the citation of the Saka year seems to have been once more brought into use and was to continue uninterrupted there-after. There are also other administrative changes in the temple machinery which have to be considered by us. That a distinctive political change had come over the country is evidenced by the citation of Saka year. This is borne out by another inscription where also the name Vikari and the Saka 1281 (1359) are mentioned in Tamil the donor being Kariyamanikka Pillai of Paramesvara mangalam (I 110). Next the Pērkadai (minister) of Sri Vira Kumara Kempana Udaiyar offered 32 cows and a breeding bull (probably a thanks giving offering for his military success) for burning one nanda vilakku. These are indicative of the fact that besides the Tamils, the Telugus and the kannada speaking people also had begun to look to Tirumala Deva for granting boons. In the wake of these endowments, we find Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar appearing on the stage as the agent of Harihara raya for instituting a new festival (tirunāl) called Māsi Tirunal (in that month) in 1387 and 1390 A D. The cyclic year alone is mentioned in these inscriptions and not even the Saka year (I 185, 196, Prabhava and Pramodūta).

THE ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY

Another feature to be noticed is that although endowments and gifts are made it is not clearly stated who is the trustee to accept these and to hold himself responsible. We have also to note that Harihararaya's name is given in the singular as *harihararaya*. From all previous inscriptions it is plain that there was a body of temple managers which looked to the due performance of all functions. But that body does not figure formally in these Silā-Sāsanams (inscriptions on stone) as taking over the trust gifts from the donors and binding itself to discharge the trust according to the wishes of the donor. The Trūminra-ūr uḍaiyar (the accountants) recorded these two gifts, not the Sthanattār. The temple authorities do not seem to have realised in 1390 that Harihararayar had become the ruler of this part of the country. If they had done so Harihararaya's name should have had some prasasti prefixed to it and the name itself would have been recorded in the respectable plural form.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY.

The first administrative machinery constituted by Sāmavai was called the Managers of Tiruvengadam temple (திருவேங்கடத்து மாடபத்தியம் செய்வார.) "those who do the Māṭhapatyam", something very vague. Sri Ramanuja's arrangement is said to have been a committee consisting of the Archakar, Tirumalai Nambī and Anandālvān. But that is only a traditional statement. During the period of Chola rule it was the manager of the temple (மாடபத்தியம்

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Qandā) who held himself responsible for the performance of the trust, but the officers of the King held the whip in their hands. The endowment made by the Periya Nāṭṭar (senior men of the villages) of some of the villages as per the oral orders of the King Raja Raja Devar (I 40 1234 A.D.) was issued only as an edict of Bhūpatidōva Chitramēla (for the amudupadī and Sāttuppadī of Tirumangai Alvar). It might however be believed that the Sthanattar (Sthanikas) were in existence from very early days. At any rate their existence is clearly recognised by Tirukkālattil Deva Yadavaraya. The Sthanattar approached the ruler (I 81 1209 A.D.) with a request to make adequate provision for the conduct of daily worship in the Tirumalai temple and the King set apart the lands in Kudavūr and got the same demarcated with Vishnu Chakras stones. The lands were not however handed over to the Sthanattar, for all one can read in the inscription. All such gifts became the property of the Sri Bhandaram (temple properties) which might have formed a separate head of account in the Government Treasury. The Sthanattar would have been receiving only the income from endowments to meet current expenditure. Endowments earmarked for public works (construction and repairs) were credited to a head called "Tiruppani Bhandaram". The Sthanathar seem to have acted as agents but not as trustees of the property.

When there was at a later date a complaint that the income of the temple was insufficient to

meet satisfactorily all the demands for the due performance of daily worship and the nimandam of Tiruvengadamudaiyan, Sri Tiruvengadanatha Yadavaraya made certain arrangements (Narayanan Sandhi) for the conversion of Tirupati lands as sarvamanya grant and intimated the fact to the Sthanattar for information (I. 100. 1332 A D)

திருமலையில் ஸ்ரீநாததாராகு நினைப்பு

That the Sthanattār were on occasions consulted and their advice even accepted can be seen from the inscription which states that Singayya Dēnnayaka, at whose request Tiruvengkatanatha set apart Pongalui as a Sarvamanya village for the celebration of Adī Tirunal and the Sitakaragandam Sandhi daily, respectfully approached the Sthanattar for acceptance of the arrangement (I 103, 1328 A D). He also agreed to the Sthanattar's stipulation about the utilisation of any surplus income for certain additional charities such as feeding 32 Brahmins and maintaining a flower garden and water shed. That however, would not show that the Sthanattar had of right any real power

That the Sthānattars were, at any rate in the view of Singayya Dennayka, a highly respected body in the temple administration may be seen from the wording—ஸ்தானதகார ஸ்ரீபாததேகறி¹—approaching the feet of the Sthanattar, done by so powerful a man as Singayya

1 “ திருமலையில் ஸ்ரீநாததார ஸ்ரீபாததேகறி ஸ்ரீமஹாப்ரஹ்மணிகள இமமடி ராகுததராயன் சிங்கயபெண்ணையகன்.”

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Neither Mangideva nor Sri Vira Kumara Kempanna Udaiyars Pērkadaḷ nor Bukka mentioned the name of the Sthanattar in the inscriptions recording their respective endowments, nor of the regnal year of the Yadavaraya.¹ We therefore infer that till about 1387 A.D. the Sthanattar did not form a regularly constituted body

In 1379-80 (I. 184), one Alagappiranar Tirukali Kanridasar paid 450 panams into the Sri Bhandaram for certain food offerings to be made on occasions. Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar also paid 100 panams into the Sri Bhandaram in 1387 and 1390, with no mention of the name, Sthanattar (I. 185, 186)

Sthanattar figure as Trustees

For the first time we find in an inscription of 24-2-1387 A.D. (I. 228) that the Sthanattar figure as Trustees accepting an endowment by Kollik kāvalidāsar and on 8-12-1390 A.D. (I. 187, 189) the Sthanattar figure as trustees executing a Silasasanam in favour of Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar accepting his endowment of 1200 panams paid into the Sri Bhandaram for making food offerings on the occasion of Tiruppavai singing during ten days in Margali month. Thereafter the Sthanattar figure invariably as trustees accepting endowments and gifts, the silasasanam being drawn up by the temple accounts, Tiruninra ur udaiyar, under the orders of

¹ I. 179 1349 A.D. I. 181 1348 A.D. I. 178

the Sri Vaishnavas, which latter is only a traditional compliment to the Sri Vaishnava community ,

The entry of the Tiruninra-ur-udaiyar (Accountant) was itself an innovation which was started ten years earlier, i.e , in January 1380 A.D. (I 184)

It is worth while making an attempt to find out why and how the Sthanattar gave up their sub-servience to the Yādavarayas and their successors who were the rulers of the land, and also how and when they constituted themselves as Trustees accepting endowments There is nothing in the published inscriptions to show that they were so authorised by the rulers Tiruvenkatanatha Yadavaraya's name appears in I 100 with his regnal year 12, corresponding to 1332 A.D Then comes Sriranganatha Yadavaraya's 3rd year which by a process of working backwards appears to be about 1339 A.D Inscriptions (I 113, 114, 110) recording gifts of such distinguished military generals as the Erramanchi brothers Periya Pemma Nayakkar and Pappu Nayakkar Pemma Nayakkar of the year 1360 mention Sriranganatha Yadavaraya as the ruler.

Sri Ranganatha is said to have built a palace for himself in his 16th regnal year on the Tirumalai Hill (I 109. 1351-52) A.D. to rest his war weary limbs, after having defeated his foes, After 1360 A.D. his name is not heard of, nor does any successor to his throne and title appear on record.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Inscription I 110 which obviously speaks of the Yadavaraya as a Rama in battle mentions the year only as Vikari Saka (1281) or 1359 60 A D The Yadavaraya's regnal year is not noted there

There is another matter also to be noted in connection with this name Sri Ranganatha From tradition, which, also is perfectly true, it is well known that Sri Ranganatha Swami had to be shifted from His Temple in Sri Rangam and after a long and circuitous journey finally found a safe asylum in Tirumalai Dr S Krishnaswami Ayyangar recounts in his History of Tirupati, Vol I, pages 417-421 the Srirangam temple (Kōyil Oluhu) account of this episode But the portion of the story (p 419) which says that the priest who carried the image of Sri Ranganatha tied himself to the image and got himself let down the steep scarp of a part of the Tirumalai hill is really fantastic and unbelievable Once the image reached the safe height of the Tirumalai temple there was as much safety for Sri Ranganatha as for Tiruvengadamudaiyan The fact appears to be that Sri Ranganatha was safely housed in a new, though small, structure within the temple at one end of a big mantapam (since called Ranga mantapam) till he was taken back and installed in Srirangam about 1369-70 Sri Ranganātha's image may have arrived in Tirumalai about 1330 or 1332 A D No one can however give the exact year Yadava Sri Ranganatha seems to have commenced his reign about 1336

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF YADAVARAYAS

according to some calculations Sri Ranganatha of Srirangam may have left Tirumalai some time between 1361 and 1367 because the idol was in Senji (Gengee) for some years before being taken to Srirangam in 1371, and the Yadavaraya's name is not heard of after 1360. Was the Yadavaraya's real name Sri Ranganatha, or did he take on the Srirangam God's name under the then circumstances? His predecessor had for himself the name of the Tirumalai God, Tiruvenkata.

After the disappearance of the above Yadavarayas some other ruler should have taken their place. From the relative magnitude of gifts made to Tiruvengadamudaiyan by Mangideva, the minister of Sri Vira Kempana Udayar, and the others, we are lead to infer that Mangideva was more devoted to Tiruvēngadamudaiyan than the others. He was only a subordinate of the Vijayanagar Kings (Bukka I and Harihara). In inditing his gift of gold-gilding the vimanam and kalasam, he does not, in the preamble, give the Vijayanagar regnal year (The inscription is in Telugu as well as Tamil (a new feature) The omission cannot be construed as accidental. He was in all probability the successor to the Yadavarayas in being the Governor of this part of the Vijayanagar territories. He gives only the Saka year Vikram 1281 (I. 179, 180) and does not quote his own regnal year, nor does he quote the regnal year of Bukka I. Vira

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Kumara Kempana Udaiyar like wise quotes (I 181) only the oyoho year Kulaka

In the wake of these comes another inscription of January 1380 A. D (I. 184) by one Alagap pirannār Tirukkalikanri Dasar, a Srivaishnava of Tirupati which also quotes only the Saka year 1301 Siddhārti. For the first time it is observed that the inscription is the draft of Tiruninra ūr udaiyan, the temple accountant, a new officer of the temple

Reading between the lines the inference is that after Sri Ranganatha swami was removed from Tirumalai and after the demise of the Yadava Sri Ranganatha, there was some confusion in the management of the Tirumalai temple and that a full time and qualified accountant was found essential for the proper maintenance of records. So the Sthanattar seem to have imported one of the Tiruninra ur udaiyar a little before January 1380 A D. In 1387 (I 228) the Sthanattar set themselves up as the full fledged trustees of the Devasthanam and not merely the executive agency which they were under the Yadavarayas. This is a step they had to take and which they were quite competent to do. The ruler of the country (whoever he may have been) due to the political turmoils prevailing could not be expected to bestow any attention worth the name to the temple affairs. The interest of the Yadavarayas is taken to have commenced with Ghatti Deva about 1100 A D and lasted till 1360 A.D for two centuries and a half.

Any new ruler was yet to acquire a spiritual or sentimental attachment to the temple. The Sthanattar at the time were men of high character and reputation. We saw that Singayya Dannayaka approached their feet with great respect and even Tiruvengatanatha had to couch his edicts as being made for their hearing (நினைப்புக்கு). In reference to the Sthanattar setting themselves up as full-fledged trustees, an incomplete inscription in Sanskrit Grantha Script on the north wall (left inner side) of the base of the Padī Kāvali Gopuram in Tirumalai may perhaps be considered relevant. It is to the effect (as translated by the epigraphist I. 161).

.....the best king having deceased
the proper course being adopted மதவதி
 வரஸாஸனே , சுலபமதிவாஸகம் (NOTE —Perhaps
 the portions left dotted above are being hidden by
 some wall or other and could be read if the obstruc-
 tion is removed).

If the inscription refers to the death of Sri Ranganatha Yadavaraya and to the subsequent course of independent action taken by the Sthanattar, the relevancy may be admitted.

Although the Sthanattar set themselves to be the effective trustees of the Devasthanams, royal Dharma-sanas were being issued without any specific mention of the Sthanattar. Thus Śrī Virapratapa Devaraya Maharaya's Dharmasasana recorded in Kannada on the Bangaru Vakīl (or door jamb covered with

gilded copper plate at the entrance to the main shrine in Tirumalai) on the occasion of the Emperor's visit on Monday, the Sukla Dasami of Margasira Saumya year (Saka 1351) (5th December 1429) (L 192) makes the statement that two thousand two hundred honnu (gold) were transferred from the Raja Bhandara to the Chandragiri Bhandara and that in addition three villages mentioned therein were also granted as Sarvamanya for the celebration of a nine days festival every year and for certain other daily services. There is no mention of the Sthanattar as trustees taking charge of these properties. So also when Sirigirēsvara son of Vissanna Devaraya, presented his gold pattam (17 1430) L 193 set with gems to the God of the Sri Venkata Hill, there is no mention of the Sthanattar. The sila sasanam is in Sanskrit (Grantha characters)

Teppada Nagaya Nayakkaru (son of Muddaya Nayara) on (I 209) 12-1 1443 executed his dharma sasana in Kannada denoting 3000 honnu for preparing three gold plates in his name and another 100 pon for a daily offering of two flower garlands, two barivana and eight upōra. The Sthanattars are enjoined to carry out this charity scrupulously (12 1 1443)

Specific mention is not made of the composition of this council or committee of Sthanattar. There need be no doubt that it would have taken about 10 years for this body to take a definite shape after

THE COMPOSITION OF STHANATTAR

1360 A D After the disappearance of the Yadavarayas from the temple overlordship and after Sri Ranganathaswami was taken back to Srirangam there must have been great need felt for overhauling the accounts and verifying temple properties. A staff of competent accountants was set up in the temple and we found in 1379-80 that the Tiruninra-ur udaiyan made his debut. Ten years later in 1390 the Sthanattar as a self-constituted body came to view Their composition is revealed in the same inscription No 187 which has already been noticed. Therein is found a scheme of distribution of the quarter share of the prasadams due to the donor of the gift Among others the Sthanattar are allotted a share in the following proportion making a total of 12 nirvāhams :¹—

Tirupati Srivaishnavas	... 4	} This proportion was observed even in the Tirupati temple.
Tiruchanur Sabhaiyar	... 3	
Nambimar	... 1	
Koil Kelkum Jiyars	... 2	
Koil-Kanakku Tiruninra- udaiyar	.. 2	
—		
Total. 12		
—		

So we draw the inference that the Sthanattar were twelve in number.

1 Nirvāham is subsistence allowance, or means of living

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Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar

Inscription 187 Vol I of 1390 refers to an endowment by one Mullai Tiruvenkata jiyar manager of the Arisāpālayan maṭham and nandavanam. We must know how he came in, for he and his successors were destined to play their part in this temple.

We have seen that Singayya Dannayaka transferred the Arisanalayam Nandavanams and the maṭhams at Tirumalai and at Tirupati to a certain Siyan or Jiyar for management and for the enjoyment of emoluments therefrom during his life time after the due performance of certain charities in the temple (I 104, 1339 A D). The stipulation was that, on the demise of that Siyan or Jiyar his successor should be appointed by the Dannayakars alone from among the Desantaries (or outsiders). We do not know when that Siyan died. But we find in January 1388 and in June 1390 (I 185, 186) that one Mūllai Tiruvenkata Jiyar came forward as the agent of Hariharaya paying 100 panams for the performance of a festival (masi Tirumal) in the name of Harihararaya. On 8th December 1390 (I. 187) he described himself as the Manager of the Arisanālayam Tirunandavanam at Tirumalai and made an endowment of 1200 panams as capital for certain festivals. He was a Sanyasi. But he does not state in the inscriptions relating to his endowments who his guru or acharya was. Sishyas (and more so Sanyasis) consider it a sacred duty

and an honour to acknowledge their acharya on all possible occasions. It is evident that he got possession of the Arisanalayam Tirunandavanam between June and December 1390 through the favour of Harihararaya himself. It must be that the Siyar or Jiyyer appointed in 1339 by Dannayaka died and that there was no Dannayaka to appoint a successor. The tamil word Arasanālayam Tirunandavanam indicates that the Arasan or (King) planted a Tirunandavanam or garden for the use of the ālayam or temple (ஆலயம்). The words mean the temple garden planted by the King. It was probably a temple property and Mullai Tiruvenkata jiya was made its Kartar by the Vijayanagar King Harihara.



CHAPTER XIV

EXPANSION OF SRI VAISHNAVA ACTIVITIES.

Sthanattars and Sthanakas.

From the analysis of the composition of the Sthanattars given in the previous chapter it will be seen that it is not quite similar to the composition of the Sthanikas in other important temples. The term 'Sthānikas' usually conveys the impression that it is composed of the religious functionaries in a temple, who receive a sort of preferential treatment in the matter of being served with tirtham and prasādam (consecrated water and food) in the gōshti or assembly of worshippers. In the Tirumalai and Tirupati temples this class is represented by the Archakas, the Jiyangars and the Āchārya purushas. The Sthanattar form a different class whose function is secular and not religious although there can be no rigid line of demarcation drawn between the two. In fact some of the Sthanattar particularly the Tiruninraūr udaiyars were the spiritual disciples of the Acharyapurushas usually showing a respect to the Acharya which would prevent their sitting together on a footing of equality.

The political changes in the country have already been reviewed to explain the emergence of

the Sthanattar as Independent Trustees. There were also religious and social conditions which contributed to this step.

Srirangam which stood out as the foremost rallying point for Vaishnavas from time immemorial became a vulnerable place. Kanchipuram, which took the next rank ever since Sri Ramanuja promulgated his Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy, did not also prove to be the safest place. All Sri Vaishnavas had to look to Tiruvēṅgaḍam when the Muslims remorselessly demolished and pillaged the temples, broke the idols and forcibly converted or massacred Hindu men and abducted Hindu women. Tirumalai somehow escaped the danger and all the religious minded Sri Vaishnavas counted on the God of the Vengadam Hills for the safety of their religion. In Vēṅgaḍam the Tamilian came into contact with the Kannada Hoysālas, the Telugū Chālukyas the Telugu Pallavas and others attached to the new Viṣayanagar Kings of the Sangama line. The past history and affluence of the Tirumalai temple was till then bound up with the fortunes of the Tamil-loving Chōlas, Pāndyas, Yādavarayas and Gaṇḍagōpalas. The Muslim invasion completely crushed these kings and put an end as well to their rivalries. For the moment the Muslim danger was arrested by their combined action. But who will rise as the next dominant Hindu power was yet an uncertain matter in the period between 1340 and 1390. Yadava Sri Ranganatha died about 1360 A.D. and the religious

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order of the temple which hitherto looked to him for support had to chalk out its own future and it did so

Separation of secular administration from the religious propaganda.

The task before them was not merely one of keeping the temple services and festivals going without a break. It was certainly more than that. Śrī Vēdānta Desika and Pillai Lōkāchārya represented the cream of the Tamil speaking Śrī Vaiṣṇavas and were the real inspirers and guides at the time. There were also the local Āchārya puruṣas, the numerous Jiyars and their followers in the mathams who came from the extreme south, the Sabhaiyars of Tiruchchukanur and the Archaḱas all of whom had an abiding interest in the temple. They seem to have realised that they could not confine their activities to the Tamil country alone if their temples and Śrī Ramanuja's Viśiṣṭādvaitam were to gain predominance in the land. They could not rely solely on the support of the kings as their position itself was unstable. They had therefore to educate the masses and make them religious minded. For the achievement of the latter object Śrī Vēdānta Dēśika had already produced an unsurpassable volume of literature in Tamil bringing the highest truths within the easy reach and understanding of the common man. Similar work had to be undertaken for the Kannada and the Telugu countries. The Brahmatantra

Swami, an immediate disciple of Śrī Vedānta Desika, had taken up his place in the Mysore country for this work. The Telugu country needed attention. The plan therefore seems to have been that the Acharyapurushas—how many families they were at the time we do not know, but they number seven now—should take up propaganda and proselytising work, retaining at the same time their peculiar spiritual position in Tirumalai and Tirupati, and leave it to the Sthanattar to manage the secular affairs of the temples. Ādi Van Sathakōpa-swami also started his evangelical mission about the middle of the 15th century and his successors of the Ahōbila Mutt carried on the mission in the Telugu country penetrating even into Orissa. The history of the temple from 1390 A.D. onwards, when the new scheme might be considered to have been put into effect, shows how remarkably well this system worked. While time had an adverse effect on the fortunes of other temples, the Tirumalai temple went on towering higher and higher.

How the Scheme worked.

A cursory reading of the inscriptions of the 15th and 16th centuries A.D. shows that within a century and a half they were able to make the different branches of the royal family with their ministers and generals the spiritual disciples of a mutt or of one or the other of the Āchāryapurusha families. The great agricultural and trading communities had likewise been made Śrī Vaishnavas

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

The equality of social treatment which all were accorded in the presence of the Deity was a great cementing factor between the Āchārya and the disciple. Some of the Āchāryapurushas went even a bit further in bridging social inequalities. Even in so conservative a function as the Sraddha they so arranged the ceremonial functions that at a certain stage all their disciples could come and worship before the sacrificial fire. The Āchāryapurushas were not behind their opulent disciples in making endowments to the temple. In not a few cases the amounts were large. In one notable instance a village Pedda Ekkalur, with an annual net income of 2000 varahas gifted by the Vijayanagar King Sadasivaraya Maharaya to Sottai Tirumalai Nambi Srinivasa Ayyangar, was soon after transferred to his God Tiruvēngadamudaiyan as an endowment for the perpetual performance of certain festivals etc. The same person made a subsequent endowment of villages with an annual income of about 1000 varahas. The moral effect of the transactions could not but have had an elevating influence on his disciples. All these charities will be catalogued in due course. Here it has to be remembered that the members of these Āchāryapurusha and other families connected with this temple were not leading a parasitic existence. They worked with a will for the spread of their religion and for maintaining the high traditions of their temple. The prefixing of the word Tirumalai to their name was a matter of great pride. It is decidedly

so even to this day in the Telugu and Kannada countries from Ganjam downwards. Whatever the family name may be, the prefixing of the word Tirumalai has always been considered a great honour and privilege. In the Tamil country a Tatachari in whatever part of the country he may be, claims ancestry from Tirumalai Nambi. The disappearance of the Tamil kings and the emergence of the Vijayanagar kings and then dependents brought about this transformation. These Āchāryapurushas and the Mathādhīpatīs overspread the land for doing evangelical work in the name of Tiruvēṇḡadamudāyān. They had temples built in various places. There is a Dwaraka Tirumalai in the West Godavary district. There were Venkatesvara temples built in very many villages. So also temples to Narasimhaswami. They did the pratishṭhā and received the Tirtham in these temples. The temples assumed the status of Tirthaparigrahaṃ temples for all others. The Antarvēdi Narasimhaswami temple in the East Godavary district owes its origin to the Prativādi Bhayankaram family; the Sindhachalam temple to the first Van Saṭhakopa Jiyar and so also the one in Mangalagiri. These Āchāryapurushas and Mathādhīpatīs did not make religion a close preserve in their own hands. The religious orders known as **Sattada Srivaishnavas, the Konda dasaris and the Mala dasaris** bear testimony to their efforts to take religious instruction to the very door of even the lowest and the loneliest of Hindus. The Sāttāda Śrī Vaiṣṇavas were drawn from all classes

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of non brahmin caste-Hindus. The Konda dasaris work lay with the hill tribes living in lonely places. The Māla dasaris work was among the antyajās. These dasaris were the trusted disciples of the Āchāryapurushas and continue to be so even to this day. Their civil and even petty criminal disputes are adjudicated by their Acharya. They do not go to any other court. The Sattāda Sri Vaiṣṇava was as well versed in the Tiruvoimōḷi as the Sāttina Sri vaishnava and ministered to the religious needs of a section of Hindus. They performed puja also in certain temples and do so even now.

For the benefit of the dāsaris a religious literature was got up in the form of songs which they got by heart. These songs enshrine the highest philosophical doctrines and forms of worship. When they appear in public with the lamp and the gong in hand they arrest attention. The light symbolises true knowledge and the gong symbolises the divine call to reform one's life and conduct.

There are in the Telugu country very many Tirumalai Tatācharis. Prativādi Bhayankarams, Nallānchakravartis, Madabhusis, Nadādurs and other families who do not know the Tamil alphabet or the language but yet got by heart the Tiruvoymōḷi in Telugu script. They are the descendants of families who infiltrated into the Telugu country after 1390 A.D. All of them take pride in calling themselves Tirumalaivaramu.

It was not the Acharyapurushas alone who did this work of proselytising and of bringing adherents and

benefactions to the Tirumalai Temple. There was the Brahma Tantram or Parakalaswami with his Math in Mysore. The Maharajas of Mysore have been for very many generations the disciples of the Parakālamatham. There was the Van Sathakopan Nandavanam and matham in Tirumalai early in the 14th century A D which ultimately became the Ahōbila mutt. The founder of this mutt was Adi van Sathakopaswami who was the spiritual guru of the great Telugu poet Allasani Peddanna. The mutt's influence was felt all over the Andhra country right upto Orissa. The Tallappakam poets and philosophers of the great Nandavanka family who became ardent Sri Vaishnavas also contributed to making Sri Vaishnavism popular in the Telugu country.

Then came the great Vyasaraya Mutt during the reign of Krishnadevaraya with its unrivalled hold on the Kannada country. All the Vaishnava mutts considered it a great privilege to have a foothold in Tirumalai and to receive honours in the temple. Standing on a Hill where the Tamil, the Telugu and the Kannadigas meet, this Deity of Tiruvēngadam continues to draw more and more devotees to His Shrine as the centuries roll on.

Local Support and Royal benefactions.

But it took five or six decades before any tangible results could be detected in the popularity of the shrine in the Telugu country. During this period, the residents of Tirupati and of the villages around it did not fail in their duty. The note at

the end of this chapter shows a list of all their endowments. The endowments by the local people took the form of food offerings. The reason was that in the unsettled condition of the country what the pilgrim wanted was food. If the endowments made by the residents of Tirupati and the surrounding villages have been enumerated, it is not to produce the impression that the Sangama kings and their officers did nothing for this temple. Bukka raya I endowed for a daily Sandhi offering and for a Brahmōtsavam in the month of Kartigai. This was about 1365 A.D. Harihara II gave in 1387 A.D. probably on the persuasion of Mullai Tiruvēkata Jiyar 100 panams a year for the Māei Brahmōtsavam which capitalised at the rate of interest in those days would be about 1000 panams (I 185). Giridēvappagal, younger brother of Santappa Naggappan probably an officer under Harihara II, endowed 600 panams for the purchase of a flower garden and the Lakshmi Narasimha man-tapam and for food offerings on a particular festival day (I 191 18 12 1404 A.D.)

Neither Bukka II nor Devaraya I, nor Vira Vijaya the successors of Harihara II seem to have made any gifts or endowments during their reign i.e., till we reach 1419 A.D. There is nothing to be wondered at if these Kings were indifferent to the Tirumalai Temple. They were in the midst of a life and death struggle with the Muslim Bhamini kings. They were also all largely under Salūte.

influence The only Vaishnava temple within easy reach for them was that of Ahōbila Narasimhaswami Even this may be due to the fact that Sri Sankaracharya has sung the Īlakshmi Narasimha-stōtram. The Upper Ahobilam temple (on the Hill) is a compromise temple where Ugra Narasimha and Siva Lingam stand in amity with only a stone screen cut out of the hill rock separating the two. It is in fact a Hari Hara Kshethram. Kings with an ambition to carve out an Empire could not afford to label themselves as belonging to this or that sect. Attachment to a particular Deity is however inculcated by the slow growth of the belief that success is due to the special favour of a particular Deity enshrined in a particular temple This faith in Tiruvēngaḍamuḍaiyan had yet to catch the imagination of the Vijayanagar Kings. The Achāryas played no small part in shaping this faith There is the tradition about how the Rayar of Vijayanagar became the spiritual disciple of a Venkata Dikshitar of the Tirumalai Nambi family of Tirupati and made a grant of the village Bodipad (thereafter renamed as the present Rāyadurg) in addition to Ēttūr and Immaḍi. At the instance of his Acharya, nine more families of different gōtras were imported to make it possible for his Acharya to reside in that country and carry on his havyakavya It was all the result of a dream which the Āchārya had while halting one night in a village called Hanumanthagundam (Kurnool district) on his return journey from Ahobilam after attending

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the Brahmotsavam there. His dream of a Bimba of Nrisimha being buried in a white ant-hill and asking him to get it exhumed by the king. It proved true and the Rayar became a disciple of the Acharya who was well known as a great pandit of saintly character. This is a story which we may believe or not. But the fact remains that in the life of men certain inexplicable incidents create deep impression and faith. The descendants of this Acharya are living in Anagundi and other places in the Bellary District. Till we go to the year 1429 1430 A.D. we do not find any strong attachment to the God of Tiruvengadam among the members of the royal family of Vijayanagar.

In 1430 Srigirisvara the son of Vissanna Deva raya who is identified as the brother of Devaraya II, presented a gold pattam set with gems to "Sri Venkatadri Prabhu" (L. 193 17 1430).

In 1433 Tirukkalikkanri dasar Alagappiranar was able to prevail upon Udaiyar Devana Udayar (Devaraya II) to help instituting Vedaparaynam recital in Tirumalai, which as could be seen from the series of transactions involved (as shown by the inscription L. 199 to 203) was no easy matter.

In 1443 Teppada Nagaya Nayakkar, son of Muddayya Nayakar (obviously an officer under the King), donated 3000 pon (30000 panams) for three gold plates for presenting food offerings daily to the Deity and also another 100 pon (1000 panams) for the daily food offerings (Kannada Inscription I 209).

ENDOWMENTS

In 1446 Peṇṇa Mallaya Deva Maharaja (Mahā-maṇḍālesvara Mēḍini Mīsaraganda Kathāri Sāluva) paid 1000 panams for offering 1 Tīruppōnakam daily (I, 210). In 1450 Sīru Mallaya Deva Maharaja, son of Malagangayadeva (of the same family as above) paid 1200 panams for 1 Tīruppōnakam daily (I. 218)

In 1429 Srīman Maharājadhīraja Rajaparamesvara Srī Virapratapa Dēvaraya Maharaya gave three villages and 2200 ponnu (?2000 panams) for a daily offering of 30 platefuls of food etc., and instituted a Brahmotsavam in Tirumalai to be celebrated in the month of Asvīja (I 192 ; 5-12-1429)

It will be noted that Devaraya II and Teppada Nagaya Nayakkar showed by the largeness of their endowments a more than passing faith in Venkatadrī Prabhu

It will thus be seen that by a scheme of devolution of responsibility, the Acharyapurushas and the Matadhipathies gave a new drive to make people realise the high ideals for which this temple stood, so that there may be no dependence on kings alone. This was the good that came out of the evil of the Muslim invasion.

NOTE.—List of endowments made by local people.

Mullai Tiruvenkata Jīyar made two endowments in 1390 and 1393 amounting in all to 1800 panams Mallanna or Madhava Dasar of Chandra-giri made an endowment for one Tīrupponakam offering daily in 1409 and **constructed the Tirumamani mantapam in front of the Tirumalai shrine in 1417 A.D.**

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Mallāndayar's (Chandragiri) endowment dated 2 10-1444 was for two Tirupponakam daily (irrigation channels dug)

Through the efforts of Tirukkalikkanri Dasar Alagappirānar, Udaiyar Dēvana Udaiyar made over to the Temple the Raja Bhandaram income from Siddhakkuṭṭai for instituting Vedaparayanam service in Tirumalai (which was not being done till then) from 1433 A.D. Since the amount was found insufficient to maintain 24 Brahmins for the purpose, all the villagers of the sixteen Tiruvidaiyāttam villages of the Temple undertook to contribute yearly 200 panams (I 200, 201, 202 203) The same Alagappirānar instituted the Arunōdayam Sandhi for six months in a year and some other food offerings also (4000 panams) (I. 207, 208)

In 1442 A.D. Karunakaradaśar, a Sāttāda Śrī Vaiṣṇava of Tirupatī made an endowment offering one Tirupponakam daily. Smaller offerings on occasions were instituted by Ālvar Mudaliyar, Ulagudaiya Perumal and Govindan Tiruvandālvār accountants from 1445 (450 panams) (I. 212)

The Sabhalyars of Tiruchchukanur (Probably members of the Sthanattar Committee) viz., Anantaśayanar and Vadamamalaīdaśar, Alagar Appillai alias Tiruvanandaśvar Periya perumal, also one Alagiya perumal, son of Ramanuja daśar made endowments of 300 panams, 120 panams and 200 panams respectively for food offerings on certain festival days (I. 213, 215, 216, 1445 and 1446 A.D.)

ENDOWMENTS BY LOCAL PEOPLE

Koyil Kelvi Emperumanar Jiyar who perhaps was the successor of Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar, from about 1445 A.D., made a number of endowments all of which were for food offerings on the various Brahmotsavam festival days at Tirumalai and Tirupati. They are of the value of 2000, 1000, 1000, 1000 and 5000 panams respectively (total 10,000). The dates of these endowments extend over a period of 12 years from 1445-1457 A D (I. 219, 220, 221, 222 and 223). One Channakesava Dasar excavated in 1450 A D an irrigation channel for Tirupati lands at a cost of 1000 panams (I. 224) and from the proceeds certain food offerings in his name were to be made. One Rama Dasar, a hermit living in Papanasa Water-falls, endowed 1000 panams for one food offering daily (7-7-1454) (I 225) One Perumal (Kollikkavalidasar) a Sri Vaishnava of Tirupati paid 1000 panams as fund for one food offering daily (for Govindaraja), (I 228, 1387 A D.) There are a few other fragmentary inscriptions whose dates cannot be fixed A Periyaperumaldasar Devaman made a fair amount of deposit about 13-12-1445. Hariyappa of Chandragiri paid 3000 panams for one food offering and for feeding 12 Brahmans daily (II. 2, 25-8-1454 A.D).

Thus the total endowments by the residents of the place amounted to about 24000 panams during the period 1380 to 1450 (or 70 years).

In 1464 A D Sottai Tirumalai Nambi Tolappar Ayyangar made an endowment of 7000/- panams for offering every night one appapadi to Sri Govindaraja



APPENDIX I--(TO CHAPTER I)

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Reprint of an article relating to the
Tirumalai Temple published in the Asiatic Journal
and Monthly Register for British and Foreign
India, China and Australia, issue of
May–August, 1831 A.D.
—·o·—
* * * * *

This temple is distinguished by oblations which are offered to its God by Vishnu's Votaries from all parts of the Indian world. Princes send vakeels or ambassadors to present their offerings to the shrine, whilst the poorer peasant, who may have little else to offer, wraps up some petty oblation in a piece of waxcloth, a handful of rice stained with manjall makes it into a larger packet. The cause of these offerings is as follows: the idol smitten with love for the blooming Tudmavutta daughter of Akasa rajah of Narrainnum in the Bomrauze Zemindaree determined to espouse her, but wanting coin for the matrimonial expenses, he raised with wind by the aid of Cuvēra the Indian Plutus. This God, however, directed that the monies thus lent should be repaid annually to the sovereign of the countries lying between the Palaur and Soona mookai rivers, and the votaries at the shrine pour in great numbers

1 The author is indebted to Sri M C Subramania Iyer, Assistant Curator Madras Records Office for bringing this article to notice.

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during the Bramhantsowam or nine days celebration of the nuptials, and annually at this period two thirds of the usual collection are made

The Brahmins maintain that the Hindu Princes allowed the revenues from this source to be entirely employed on the spot in religious ceremonies and that the musaulman first appropriated, on the score of the above claim, the produce of these oblations. During the early wars we had with the French in this part of the world, this source of revenue was one of the first fruits of our conquests, though certainly its legitimacy is much to be doubted. These offerings or cauniokoo are made generally from interested motives and are of every diversity of articles conceivable gold and silver lumps coins of all sorts, bags of rupees, copper money, spices asofotidea, the hair cut off the head, frequently vowed from infancy, and given up by some beautiful virgin in compliance with her parents oath. A man who is lame presents a silver leg if blind a silver or gold eye, in fact there would be no end when I enumerate the various ways in which Hindu superstition develops itself on this occasion. The jewels which a woman has worn with pride from infancy are voluntarily left before the idol. She appears with a shabby cloth before the stone God and presents a splendid one which has never been worn, she tears the bangles from her infants little legs and fondly hopes that the God whom she 'sees in the clouds and

APPENDIX I

hears in the wind " will shower down his blessings on her and hers. She has haply travelled hundreds of miles and accomplished her object: and perhaps before a journey which to her might have been one of terror, never left her village and bosom of her own family. The birth of a son, reconciliation with enemies, success against the foe, safe termination of a journey, the marriage of a son or daughter, prosperity in trade, enjoyment of health, and the reverse of these are among the reasons which lead together in the direction of Tripotty, the wise as well as the ignorant heathens.

The offerings are not always presented by the interested party. They may be sent by relations, friends, vakeels; but they are frequently forwarded by Goseynes. A goseyne is a servant of the temple, there are a considerable number of them. A few months of the Brahmotsavam, they set out in different directions, and reaching the country they intend to commence their operations in, they unfurl the sa and flag of the God, with which each is entrusted. Round the idolatrous banner the Hindus gather and either entrust their offerings to its bearer, or carry the caunickes themselves to the foot of the idol. A sufficient mass being congregated the blind leader of the blind strikes the standard and returns whether he came in time for a nuptial anniversary. The former of the customs generally permit all pilgrims to pass free to the temple. The Goseynes seldom are detected in stea-

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ling the caunickes entrusted to their care, but they no doubt derive some emolument from the pilgrim as their presence alone secures them from trouble, taxation and other annoyance. As they journey they chaunt out, every five or six minutes and attributes of the God—'Gōv Gōv Govinda Al May—Mungoo', the whole party men, women and children successively take up the word as rapidly as possible and then simultaneously burst out with it. On my road to Tripetty we passed several groups of these besotted heathens and it made the road quite lively whilst strange anomaly, a slight reflexion excited mournful feelings

The offerings are, of course of various extent, they seldom exceed 1000 rupees. The God compliments the worshippers at his altar with presents proportioned to the liberality of their oblation if the victim gives 100 rupees, he receives a turband, from 100 to 500, a flowered silk vestment from this to 1000, a shawl, etc. A second source of revenue is called *Wurtana* presents given to the idol for its own use, whether jewels or horses cloths, etc., The donor is made to pay the estimate value of the offering to government before he is allowed to make the idol its present however the article is then retained for the use of the temple. A third source of revenue is designated *Arjectum*, or recolpts and is of three classes viz. Abhishekam or purifications Naivaidoom or offerings Wahanums or processions

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“1st Abbeesheykoom, every Friday throughout the year the idol is anointed with civet, musk, camphor etc., and washed clean again with milk. So important a spectacle cannot be seen for love, and the devotee, desirous of viewing the operation, pays what he chooses during the rest of the year, but at Bramhautsowum, pays through the nose, in a sum formerly more, but now reduced to fifty rupees. This ceremony of rubbing, scrubbing and causing the God to smell sweet, and vice versa, is styled poolkaub. 2nd Porlungee Seeva, or enrobing his excellency the God in a flower garment. This ceremony takes place every thursday. During the festival sixty rupees are paid for seeing the business. 3rd Suka alankara seva Twelve rupees are paid under this head by all who delight in seeing the idol decorated with a necklace of flowers, and this pleasure may, for this daily payment, be enjoyment for 365 days of the year 4th Sahasranamarchana. This term signifies the diurnal worship of the god under his thousand names; five rupees is the price of this piece of devotion 5th Munsoon Seva is an imposing ceremony, and the spectator yields forth twelve rupees for seeing the mighty object of his worship rocked to sleep :

“Proceed we to naivedoom, or offerings 1st Annaidloom Under this head are 1st Purmanum, 2nd Poolecayarrum, 3rd Mudgarrum and 4th Dud-dudavam.

The first is an offering of milk, sugar, rice; the second tamarinds, sweet oil and rice, the third doll

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ghee (clarified butter) and rice 4 th buttermilk and rice These good offerings may be prepared severally by the offerer at option in which case he pays six rupees only, but if the circar prepared he pays sixteen, second Bugchana vaidoom or offerings of sweetmeats the devotee has the offering prepared by the circar, and twenty to twenty eight rupees are paid for the honour of presenting it. Third, Mala mavaidoom¹ (maha naivedyam) commonly called Teeroopowra² (Tiruppaâvandai) is a large offering are from 1000 to 2000 puccah seers of rice provided by the circar but paid for in one hundred or two hundred pagodas. Fourth Amunthanarumoccha³ (Amantharana ntsavam) are united offerings of all daily offers but of course for a less extent. The price is sixty five rupees. Fifth Ookalpachadeo a presentation of the plant Ookai sitloo (అకలి పువ్వు) peculiar to the Tripetty hill This is four rupees.

There remains now to describe *Vahanum* or processions of the idol They are twelve in number and each has a reference to different parts of a Hindu mythology as connected with the adoration of Vishnu (The idol exhibited on these occasions is a gilded representation made of metal of the stone fellow in the temple who is too lazy to turn out himself)

Kalpa Varucha Vahanum is a procession of the idol placed under a gilt wooden tree Andoleeka

1 Mahanaivedyam

2 Tiruppaavadal.

3 Amantharana ntsavam

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Vahanum is a procession attending his excellency in a palankeen. Sesha Vahanum is the God carried forth on a gilt serpent sesha Saroah Bhoopala Vahanam signifies the carrying the idol on a gilt throne, Suria prabha Vahanum is a procession of the idol attended by a gilt sun. Addah arah is a trip of the gentleman to a room surrounded by looking glasses adjusted to reflect him several times; Andola Vahanum is another kind of palankeen procession. For all the above the votary who gives the idol the trouble of coming out is forty rupees less rich than he was before. Gudu Vahanam is a procession in which the idol is mounted on a gilt parrot; Chandra prabah is a procession of the idol accompanied by a gilt moon, Hanumantha Vahanam is a procession of the idol mounted upon a gilt figure like an elephant. Sometime in representation of Hanuman, the Indian pan. Simha Vahanam is a procession in which the idol rides a gilt lion. Bala sesha Vahanam is the last procession of the idol sitting upon a gilt serpent "

The whole of the revenue of the temple, from whatever source derived, are under the management of and appropriated by the circar or government. A regular establishment is entertained paid by salaries, and a horde of bramins are maintained by lands, appropriated for that purpose, over the face of the surrounding country, called manniyums or estates enjoyed on very favourable terms under government, subject only to a slight jody or tax.

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The temple is kept up in all its dignity, and the average receipts on the account of government, for the last ten years, or fusles, will show what a good thing we make of it. The head general officer there is called Tahsildar whose business is the general superintendence over the others, to see the pilgrims are well treated and lodged in proper places supplies kept fairly in the bazaars ceremonies duly performed as paid for, and that no bribery, tyranny or oppression of any sort takes place. He reports to the collector or his assistants, according to orders, on all cases of doubt or importance. Next is the Sheristadar or head native accountant who acts under the tahsildar, assists him in all his responsible duties, and superintends the regularly kept accoants of all disbursements and receipts for the use of the temple. Under him are four gumastas or native writers. The rysagu is a police clerk and is assisted by a ghola and obeys the tahsildar in all magisterial matters. Common servants are allowed for taking care of dufters, or records, lighting, sweeping the catchery and etc., and twenty peons attend the tahsildar's catchery and are paid a pagoda (8 shillings) a month, with the duffadar or head peons with larger salary. During the Bramhantsocem or nine days festival an additional sibbandi is allowed with twenty five peons, twenty putwars (and that kind of peon in lower salaries) and five hircurraks or scouts to bring intelligence of the arrival of any pilgrim of rank and to keep the peace among the enormous crowd.

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that annually fills this part of the country. They also assist the tahsildar with forty or fifty peons, a party of whom are constantly on the hills looking out for the thieves who congregate where the prey may be, whilst another party range the country, assisted by the village police, who apprehend suspicious characters. A company also of sepoy's under a native officer are stationed as the tahsildar may choose as permanent guards. The temple has attached to it a granary and store house under charge of Jeengar and Ekangī or his deputy. These have under them a goomastah, an Allowagar or grain measurer, three peons, a sandal-wood carrier, a flower carrier, a musk extractor, a pottu, a woodman for the cook, a golla, a sweeper, a mossoli or man to light up the place. The tahsildar always sees that the store has a sufficient stock for any sum upon it. He keeps regular accounts of all that enters the granary. The Jeengar keeps account of all that is disbursed upon the orders of the Parapatyadar or manager of the temple. The Parapatyadar or manager supplies daily ration of food to all the numerous servants of the temple; sees that they all do their several duties and is second only to the tahsildar in general superintendence. He takes care that the gifts presented are duly disposed of, searches the guards and others over the place for receiving the offerings and with the result of the day's oblations accompanies them to the tahsildar who with him seals up in gunny bags whatever is collected in money, jewels

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and copper plates, etc. Attached to this officer is a goomastah alowghar and four peons, and he keeps another account of all he receives from the stores. The offerings of foods, sweets, etc., presented by the pilgrims are prepared for them by his orders and his accounts are counter examined by the tahsildar. The parapatyadar previous to drawing in any large quantity on the store sends the estimate to the tahsildar who signs it.

‘ Passing through the Bangalu Vakili or silver porch the pilgrims are admitted into a rather confined part and are introduced to the God in front of whom are two vessels, one called the gangalain or vase, the other Kopra or large cup and into these things votaries drop their respective offerings and making their obeisance pass out through another door. At the close of the day the guards both of peons and sepoye round these vessels are searched. Without examination of any sort offerings are thrown into bags and are sealed first with the seal of the pagoda, then by the tahsildar and jeengar after which the bag is sent down to the cutchory below the hill Govindarnuz pettai. At the end of the month these bags are transmitted to our cutchory here or huzur (meaning the presence), and they are there opened, sorted, valued and finally sold at auction. However during the Brahmotavam either the collector or a subordinate must be on the spot owing to the value of the offerings there number the crowds of people and to see that no cheating takes place from the want of power of immediate represen-

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tation. And on this duty I was bound when I wrote from Chandragiri. I have little more to add except the average revenue of the last ten years. The annual nett proceeds from this source is about eighty seven thousands rupees. In 1822 collections were one lakh forty-two thousand and odd but this is exclusive of expenses, wherewith twenty thousand may be deducted. In 1820 or falsi 1230 the collections were 1,02,000.

You may perhaps start at such organised system of religious, or rather you will say profano, plunder on the part of the government, but such, strange as it may appear, is far from the case. Those who without just reflection join the spiritless cry against our government are rejoiced in soul to start up such a topic as this as an admirable specimen of what, with other things, should draw down vengeance of heaven on us. The fact is this: we find that the resources of the pagoda were legitimately enjoyed by the musalman government, for services earned with blood and presence, and that at the risk of losing our trade on the coramandel coast. One of the first rewards, or rather poor payment, was this revenue; and it has been paid unremittingly ever since. We found the allowing the temple to support itself upon its own funds lead to the grossest imposition upon settlement of Kists; moreover that the only cultivation in that part of the country was in the hands of Bramins who cannot legally touch a plough, and therefore all other castes of riots were virtually their slaves, and it

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was absurd for them to dream of holding lands when it embraced competition with Vishnu's Bramins under the very nose of the sacred Hill, the consequence was the priests had it all their own way labour was drawn towards their district to the comparative impoverishment of the surrounding ones and such was found to be the case all over the presidency. Every village pagoda was the petty oppressor of its range and the influence only stopped when the effects of a neighbouring one interfered with it. It was a strange but determined piece of policy when throughout the country the pagoda lands were resumed by the company and tustak allowance granted in their place, the lands passed into other hands and the riches solely grasped by the Bramin are diffused amongst the real cultivators of the soil and the coffers of the state replenished by the new stimulus thus afforded to every branch of native manufacture. Our tenure of the country was then very precarious and while as to the Hindu, he has fought, and will fight again perhaps sooner than we think of, and the experience of ages tells us what religious enthusiasm or fanaticism—or call it what you will—will do when wrought up to despair. What did we? Why, secured them in the exercise of their religion—tolerated it—we never encouraged it. We could not if we would. Now let us contemplate result of this plan. From one end of the country to the other pagodas are ruined unmaintained Bramins are in trade, serving in the army and generally learning that even to them begging is no

liveliness. The oppressive hand of the bramun was removed from the neck of the people, and the influence they once had will never again be felt to a similar extent. The revenues of Tripetty are on a gradual decline and will die in the lapse of years a natural death. Some of the most celebrated temples in the country are worse off. But there are still, alas, many more strong holds of the devil.

For the correctness of all the above details I cannot answer as the temple or Devasthanam is not within the scope of my duties, although I have the revenue administration of the taluk in which Tripetty is. But to the best of my knowledge the information I have given is correct. It is derived from what I can collect in my office, but the natives in general are deplorably ignorant when you push them on such a subject or perhaps pretends to do so".

"AUTHOR'S OBSERVATIONS".

[The concluding portions of the above article plainly show that the British policy was to drive the brahmins out of the temple, to deprive temples of their landed property which were endowed by devotees for specific religious services, the ultimate aim being the complete ruination of all temples. This point is plainly told in the above article. It is plain now that the British Government resumed all the landed property of the Tirumalai Temple with a sinister motive. The Brahmin in spite of all the disadvantages created is still a devout servant of Hinduism and the revenues of the Tiru-

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malai temple mounted up from one lakh a year to about thirty five lakhs a year every pie of which comes from men of all classes and castes of Hindus].

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The under mentioned four inscriptions which have been numbered by the T T D Epigraphist as No 17 18, 19 and 20 and which in the first Volume of the printed book of inscriptions bear the numbers 88 8, 9 19 (appearing on pages 119, 120, 12 to 17 and 28 to 31) were originally on the outer faces of the walls of the Koyil-alvār or garbhagrāham before the latter was renovated by adding on another set of walls with covered facos. Copies of these inscriptions were taken under the orders of Vira Narasinga Yadavaraya before commencing the renovation work. After the completion of the renovation work and after the new first prakaram walls were constructed the inscriptions were re engraved on the outer face of its north wall. The first inscription which is tacked on to the prasasti of Ko-Vira Raja Rajendra Panmar is the one marked No 17 T T (or No 88 in Vol I). The second one is No 18 T T (or No 8 Vol I), The third is No. 19 (or No 9 Vol I). The fourth is No 20 T T (No 19 Vol I).

The inscriptions are represented hereunder in the above order. It is stated in No 17 T T above that the re-engraving was completed on Friday

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combined with the asterism Uttirādam (or Uttirāshāḍha) being 22nd day of Chittirai month of the year of engraving. The Tamil word used to denote the year is இவ்வாண்டு or this year, which is not the same thing as saying the year in which the order was issued for commencing the work (40th regnal year of Vira Narasinga) which would be 1244 A.D. arpaṣi month. The Chittirai month thereafter would not be in the same year. There is no year before 1267 in which Friday, Uttiradam, and 22nd Chittirai would be concurrent. In 1250, Friday Uttiram and 22nd Chittirai are concurrent Uttiradam seems to be incorrectly engraved for Uttiram.

No. 88.

(No. 17—T. T.)

[On the north wall in the first prākāra of
Tirumala Temple]

Text

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ நாயனா விரநாரசிங்க தெவயாதவராயற்கு
யாண்டு நாறபதாவது ஐப்பசி மாதம் இருபதாந்தியதி
கொயிலாழ்வாராகு கொயிலுக்கு கொயில செயய
தெசாந[தி]ரிகள் திருப்புல்லாணிசீஸா ஆரமபிகை-
யில முனபு தனத கொயில ஆழ்வாரில கல்வெட்டுப்-
படி எடுதது முதல் ப்ராகாரத்திலெ வடககு விசையில்
புறவாயிலெ கல்வெட்டுவிப்பதென்று தானததாராகு
நாயனா திருமுகம வருகையில் திருமுகப்படி கல்-
வெட்டுவதென்று தானமாக நியமிக்க இவ்வாண்டை

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சிறந்திரை மாதம் உலெ ௩ தியதி வெள்ளிக்கிழமை
உத்திராடத்தூரன கலுவுடையபடி ஸ்ரீ

2 ஸ்ரீ திருமகன்பொலப பெருசிலசசெவையும 'தனகொ-
ணரிமை' பூண்டமனககொள 'காதலாச 'சகலகலை
யதத்தருளி வெவகை'சாசமும் 'துன்பபாடியும கனக-
பாடியும 'கடிவைகியியும குடமகை'சாடும் 'கொலவா-
புமுது கலிசகமும் தினாநறவ வென்றி தண்டாண
வகைகொண்ட தனவெழில் [வ]ரா [ண]ழியு[ள]
னெவலாம ஆண்டு தொழுதக 'பிலைகும ஆண்டெ
செழியன தெககொள 'கொலிராநாநாநெனுபன
மறகு யாண்டு உல வது சொமாநா மகனா பொன
மாணிகையில் தருசிரான தெகியா தெகி அமாமா
திருவெவகடதெவறகு இட பட்ட

8 ம குடிக்ககலலா பொன ௫௫௨ ம [கழுஞ்சு]
இதிலமுத்தின மாணிககம ஆறம வயிரம சாறம
முதது இருபத்தெடம இப்பட்டம இடா பரா
தகதெகிஅமாமன உ

- 1 Read தனக்கே லரிமை
- 2 Read பூண்டமை
- 3 Read காதலாச
- 4 Read சாலைகலெதத்தருளி
- 5 Read—சாமு
- 6 Read துன்பபாடியும
- 7 Read கடிவைகியியும
- 8 Read கொலவாமு
- 9 Read உல
- 10 Read வி-உரும

11 This historical introduction relates to Rajaraja I and not
to Kulira Raja Rajendra
12 This symbol stands for கதா

Translation

Hail, Prosperity ! on the 20th day in the month of Arpaśi in the 40th year of the reign of Nāyanār Vīra-Nāraṣiṅgadēva Yādavarāyar, on the receipt of the order of Nāyanar by the *Sthānattār* (to the effect) that, at the time of the commencement by Tirup-pullāṇidāsaī, one of the Dēśāntaris, of the renovation¹ of the shrine of *kōyilālvār*, the old inscriptions engraved on the central shrine built in the past shall be re-engraved at the north corner on the outer side of the first *prākāra*, and the *Sthānattār* having in pursuance of the order, directed their re-engraving, this is the document so re-engraved on Friday combined with Uttirāḍam, being the 22nd day of the Chittirai month in the same year² of reign, to wit,

In the 16th year of the reign of Kō-Vīra-Rājarājēndra-Panmai, “ who,—while (his) heart rejoiced, that, like the goddess of fortune, the goddess of the great earth had become his wife,—in his life of growing strength, during which, having been pleased to destroy the ships (at) Kāndaḷūr-Sālai he conquered by his army, which was victorious in great battles”, Vēṅgai-nādu, Tulappādi (Nulambapadi), Ganga-padi, Kadigai-viḷi (Taḍigai-vali), Kuḍamalai-nādu, Kollāpuram (Kollam) and Kalin-

1 The translation using the word 'renovation' does not bring out the implication of the tamil expression “கோயிலாழ்வராகது கோயிலுக்கு கோயில் செய்ய”. The proper translation would be 'of building a temple for the temple of the Kōyilālvār (or central shrine)'

2 'in the same year' is not the proper translation of the tamil word இவ்வாண்டு which means 'this year' in the year of re-engraving

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2 பிற[முதலி]ன வயிரம் உலக ம பருமுதலி உ[ச]
 ராயகமான மாணிக்கம உம தடலி கடலின மாணிக
 கம் உ ம ஆக மாணிக்கம தி னுல திருமுடி ஒன்றம்
 திருக்காதில பொன்னின மகரம் இ[ச¹] ணமும் பக
 முத்தின கொப்பு ஒன்றம் திருக்கமுதலின மாணிக
 ஷெறன வயிரம் உச ம மாணிக்கம உ ம பருமுதல
 வகம் சொமுதல பக[வு] இடடுக கடலின பாண
 [ச] ம பொன்னின 'உதரபெரு[ன]ம க ம திரு-
 வரைப்படலிக க கரு இடடுககடலின மாணிக்கம
 ச னுல படலிக க ம 'வாறூவணியம் உ கரு தட-
 லிககடலின மாணிக-

3 கம் உ ம தடலிககடலின மாணிக்கம உ கடலின
 திருச்சாதம் ச ம திருக்கமுதலின 'வணிக ச ம திருக்
 காறுகமுதலின காற உ ம இடைபிட 'பொன்-
 னின மணியும் பவமும முதலம் ஆக 'பரு 'பூய உ
 பாதசாயலம் உ ம வெள்ளியுறையில ஏறன ராயக-
 மான மாணிக்கம [க] இததனை ஆபரணங்களும் இடடு
 செயத பொன சலி ச ம இததனை ஆபரணங்களும் இடடு
 அலிகளும் செயலிதது எழுந்தருவித்த மண்-
 வரப பெருமானாகரு பூவெங்கட கொட்டத்த
 திருக்குடலூரகட்டு திருச்சகனூர வலையார பக-
 ளம் மடமுடை

- 1 Read உ-புரணமேதம்
- 2 Read வாரூவமுய
- 3 Read உலகம்
- 4 பொன்னம்
- 5 ௦௫ = ௫
- 6 The total is 22 not 52.
- 7 This sym ol stands for ஆயுசு

APPENDIX II

- 4 ய இலக்ஷுமணநம்பி பகசலும் பொன் குடுத்தி
 ஷலை கொண்டு திருவிளங்கொயில் பெருமானுக்கும்
 பொன் குடுத்த இறை இழித்திக்கொண்ட நிலமும்
 சபையார்பக்கல் கொண்ட நிலமும் நந்திளரிப்பட்டி-
 யும் மடுப்பூட்டையும் இலக்ஷுமணநம்பி அடை
 கொண்ட ¹நிலமும் மதுசூதன் ஆவியரையும் வுரூ-
 ஷோததமன்பட்டியும் ஆக மூன்று பட்டி நிலமும்
 கடிகைக்கொலால் அளநது பதினறுசாண்கொலால்
 முவாயிரம் குழி ஷலை கொண்டு சபையாற்கும்
 தெவ[ற்]கும் ஷலை பொன் குடுத்த இறை இழித்[தி]
 மணவாளப்பெருமானுக்கு நிமந்த-
- 5 த்துக்கு வைத்தபடியாவது நிமந்தம் நானாழி அரிசி
 திருவமுதும் திருநந்தாவிகளுக்கு ஒன்றும் இரண்டு
 சுயநலம் ²பூணியும்² இரண்டு ஷஷு அம் ³பூணியும்
 திருமஞ்சனம் புகுவீபபதற்கும் ³புரட்டாதித்திருநாள்
 எழுந்தருளிப் பொதுகைக்கு [விழா]வெழுந்தருளு
 மன்றுமதன் முன்பும் இரண்டுநாள திருவிழா எழுந-
 தருளுவீபபதா(க)கவும சித்திரை முதலாக திருமுனை
 யட்டி ஒன்பதுநாள திருவிழாவெழுந்தருளிவிக்க[வு]ம்
 இத்தனையுஞ் செயவிப்பார திருவெங்கடத்து மாடா-
 பத்தியுஞ் செயவாரெயாகவும இந்நிலம் இறைகாதது
 ஷிட சபையா இரக்ஷிப்பாராகவும இப்பரிசு ⁴சகூர-
 தித்தவரை நிற்பதாக
- 6 செய்தென் சத்திவிடங்கனாகிய காடவனபெருந்தெவி-
 யா பல்லவப்பெறக்கடையா மகள் சாமவையாகிய

1 Read நிலமும்.

2 Read ஷஷு அம் பூணியும்.

3 Read புரட்டாசி.

4. Read அம் சூழித்தவரை.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

காடவன பெருந்தேவியேன் 'இததன்மம் இராகிப
பா ஸ்ரீபாதம் என தன்மெயது ஸ்ரீவெஜ்வாகன
இராகிப[1*] இவை சாததாதத யமுதது உ

Translation.

Hail Prosperity ! In the 14th year of the reign of Koppātra Maliēndra Panmar, I Sāmavai alias Kadavan Perundevī, (queen) of Sattiviṭṭāṅkan (Sakti viṭṭāṅkan) alias Srī Kādappattigal and daughter of Pallavapperkadaiyār founded this charity so as to last as long as the moon and the sun endure having arranged for the daily propitiation (*nūmandam*) with 4 *nāḷi* of cooked rice (*tirutamudu*) and one perpetual lamp (*nandāviḷakku*), for the conduct of ablutions (*tirumaṣṇanam*) on the two *Ayana Sankrānti* and the two *Viṣṇu Sankrānti* (days) and for the celebration of the Puraṭṭāṣi festival wherein to conduct a festival for two days before the commencement of the (main) festival and to conduct the (main) festival for nine days beginning with the seed sowing (*tirumuḷaiyaṭṭi*) on the day of Chittirai (star) for the Manavalapperumāl (imago) made of silver and installed in the *Tiruvīṇḷōyil* after performing special worship for the God presiding over the sacred Veṅkaṭa Hill and after presenting for the consecrated silver imago

(1) 1 crown (*tirumuḍi*) containing 23 diamonds, 16 big pearls 2 big central rubies and 3 cut rubies in all 5 rubies,

1 Read *சூதமம்*

APPENDIX II

(2) 2 ornaments (of the shape of the) *makara* and 1 pair of coral *koppu* for the two holy ears,

(3) 4 strings (*mālar*) for the holy neck into which are set 14 diamonds, 3 rubies, 11 big pearls and many (small) red pearls,

(4) 1 belt (*udarabandhanam*) of gold,

(5) 1 girdle (*tiruvavarai pattikar*) with 4 rubies,

(6) 2 circular ornaments for the arms (*bāhu-valayam*)

(7) 4 bracelets (*tiruchchandam*) set with 2 cut rubies,

(8) 4 circular ornaments (*valaiyal*) for the holy neck,

(9) 2 solid anklets (*kārar*) for the holy feet, being ornaments made of gold set with precious stones, corals and pearls totalling 52 articles,

(10) 2 anklets with belts (*pādachāyalam*) and 1 luminous disc (*prabha*) of silver set with 1 big central ruby; the gold used in making these articles being 47 *kaḷaṇṇu*, and the land given to this Manavālapperumāl, for whom all these (ornaments) were presented and ablutions were also conducted and who was consecrated, comprises the pieces of land purchased from the *Sabhayar* of Tiruchchukannūr situated in the Tirukkudavūr-nādu in Sri Vēnkata-kōttam and from Lakshmananambi residing in the *Maṭham* and for which was also paid money to the God Tiruvilankōyil-Perumāl and which was made tax-free, the piece of land purcha-

sed from the *Sabhaiyār*, the pieces of land known as *Nandi-ērippaṭṭi*, *Maḍuppiṭṭai*, *Lakshmaṇanambi aḍaikonda nilam* (land held by Lakshmaṇanambi), *Madhusūdan-āviyarai* and *Purushōttaman paṭṭi* aggregating to 3 paṭṭi of land measured with the *kaḍikkai-kōl* (measuring pole) and reckoned to be 3000 *kuḷi* as equated with the rod of 16 spans and this land has been purchased after paying the purchase money to the *Sabhaiyār* and to the Deity, and made tax free and presented to serve for the propitiation of Maṇavālapperumāl

All these services the managers of the temple (*māḍāpaṭṭam*) on Tiruvōṅkataṁ shall have conducted and the *Sabhaiyār* shall protect the land from being taxed

The feet of those that protect this charity shall be borne on my head

The protection of the Srivaishnavas (is sought for this)

This is the writing of Sāttandaṁ

No. 9

(No 19—T T)

[On the north wall in the first Prākara of
Thrumala Temple]

Text

1 ஸ்ரீமத் 'கோபபாதுபனமரகு யானடு ஸ யத
சத[தி]விடவகாரகிப 'ஸ்ரீகாடபடபுகன பெறககடை

1 Read கோ - வாதி-அவசு-வா-அதகு.

2. Read ஸ்ரீகாடபடபுகன

APPENDIX II

பார மகள் சாமவையாகிய காடவன் பெருந்தெவி
 ஸ்ரீவேங்கடத்து எழுந்தருளினின்ற பெருமானடி-
 ருக்கு கடி-ஊ-ஊ-ஊ கொண்டருளி வெள்ளியால
 எழுந்தருளாகித் தமண-

- 2 வாள்பெருமானுக்கு மாகழித் திருத்தவாஷிக்கு
 முன்பு திருக்கொடி 'எறற(த்து) திருமுனை அடடி
 எழுநா[ள்] திருவிழா இரண்டு பொழுதும் எழுந-
 தருளுவிப்பதற்கு வைத்த பூமி வெங்கடக்கொட்டத்து
 'திருக்கடஆர்நாட்டு திருச்சுகனூர் சபையாக்கும்
 தெவர்க்கும் பொன் குடுத்து இறை இழித்தி
 கொண்ட நிலம் வடக்கு னெககிப பொனவதியில்
 மெற்கில் ஆயப்பட்டியில் குழி கடிகைக்கொலால்
 அளந்து பதிநறுசாண்கொலால் 'க உ ர ஊ ய எ[வஉ]'
 (ம்) குழிப்பட்டி குழி
- 3 ஈகூய ம் பெரும்பாண எதிர்வாயில் குழி ஈகூய
 ரு ம் நாலிசப்பட்டி க கதஉளஉயக ம் குசபப்பட்டி க
 ஈசயச[வ ம்] புருஷோத்தமப்பட்டி க ஈஉயக ம் புரு-
 ஷோத்தமன்பள்ளம் க னூநு ம் பஞ்சவன்மாதெவி-
 எரிகீழ் 'க ஈரு ம் காண்பெருமானும் தம்பிபட்ட-
 னும்க்கல கொண்ட நாதர்செறு க உ ர ஊ ம் சாலை-
 பெருமாள் திருமலைக்கல் கொண்ட கொட்[டு]க
 கிழபட்டி க கூர் ம் ஆக க 'சதூளயெ ஊ கு குழி-

1. Read ஏற்றி.

2 Read திருக்குடலூர்—

3 Read குழி wherever this figure occurs in this inscription

4 This symbol stands for ம.

5 Read த = ஆயிரம்.

6 The total is wrongly given

ஓம் திருவெங்கடத்து மாடபத்தியகு செயவாகனெ
கைககெகா-

4 னை 'சன்து' தித்தவரை செவவதாக குடுத்தொம்
சாமவைபாடிய கடவன பெருத்தெய்யென உ

Translation.

Hail, Prosperity ! In the 14th year of the reign of Koppātra-Panmar I, Sāmavai alias Kādavan Perundēvi (queen) of Sattivitāṅkan alias Sī Kadap paṭṭiṅgal, and daughter of Perkadaiyār, presented towards the expenses of conducting a festival twice a day for seven days prior to *Mārgaḷi-tirudivḍasi* (*Muklaḍi-divḍasi*), after raising the flag (to the top of the flag-staff) and sowing (the nine kinds of) seeds for the image of Maṇavāḷapperumal made of silver, after having performed special rites for the presiding deity of the sacred Vēṅkaṭa Hill (*Srī Vēṅkaṭattu eḷandarufi ninṇa Perumāṇaḍigoḷ*) land for which money was paid to the deity and to the *Sabhaiyār* of Tiruchchukanūr situated in the Tiruk kudavūr nadu in Vēṅkaṭa kōṭṭam and which was made tax free, and measured with the *kaḍikai-kōl* and reckoned in *kuḷi* as equated with the rod of 16 spans —

(1) 267 *kuḷi* in the *Āyappaṭṭi* land lying to the west of the high road running northwards,

(2) 367 *kuḷi* known as the *Kuḷippaṭṭi* land,

(3) 340 *kuḷi* lying opposite to the Perumbāṇa (tank)

1 Real அந்தரீகதெய்ய

APPENDIX II

- (4) 1221 *kuḷi* known as *Nāviśappaṭṭi*,
- (5) 144 *kuḷi* known as *Kuśappaṭṭi*,
- (6) 121 *kuḷi* known as *Purushōttamappaṭṭi*.
- (7) 505 *kuḷi* in *Purushōttaman-paḷḷam*.
- (8) 1000 *kuḷi* below the *Pañchavanmādēvi-ēr*,
- (9) 250 *kuḷi* purchased from Kāḷipperumān and Tambibhaṭṭan, and known as *Nādarseru*, and
- (10) 600 *kuḷi* purchased from Sāḷaperumāl-Tiṇṇimalai, known as *Kīḷ-paṭṭi* in Kōṭṭūr village, aggregating to 4176 $\frac{3}{4}$ *kuḷi*

I, Sāmavaḷ alias Kāḍavan-Perundēvi, have granted them (with the desire) that these (several) *kuḷi* of land be taken possession of by the managers of the temple of Srī Vēṅkaṭēśa and that the charity may be conducted as long as the moon and the sun (last).

No. 19.

(No 20—T.T.)

[On the north wall in the first Prākāra of
Tirumala Temple.]

RAJENDRA-CHOLA I

No 20—T T. is dated on the 7th day, apparently in the first year, of the reign of Rājendra-Chōla I¹ It embodies an order of the king's *Adhikāri* named Korramangalamuḍaiyān who held an enquiry regarding the conduct of certain charities and services instituted in the temple of Srī Vēṅkaṭēsvara at Tirumala. The enquiry revealed that the charity of putting up lights in the temple, which the assembly

of Tirumundiyaṃ undertook to execute in pursuance of an earlier document engraved on stone was being only partially carried out by them. The witnesses summoned to depose the facts were Kadappaṅkudayān designated *Śiṟutanattuppaṇṇimakan* who was the administrative officer of the sub-district of Kuḍavūr nāda (*Kuḍavūr nāṭṭu vaḡai ṣeyaira śiṟutanattuppaṇṇimakan*) and the priests (*pūjāris*) or the servants of the temple (*dēvarhaṇṇiḡaḷ*). The *Adhikāri* was impressed with the negligence of the *Sabhaiyār* of Tirumundiyaṃ and ordered that the original capital for this charity be recovered from them and credited to the general funds of the temple and the lamps lighted by the managers of the temple through the supply of the necessary ghee made from its stores.

This epigraph gives us a glimpse of the Chōḷa administrative system. The *Adhikāri* was perhaps a governor placed over a province and, in this instance over the Jayaṅkoṇḍa-Chōḷa nāṇḍalam or Toṇḍamaṇḍalam. During his itineracy through the country under his charge he took cognizance of all matters both secular and religious, investigated them and decided them. There was an officer of a lower rank known as the *Śiṟutanattuppaṇṇimakan*, administering the *nāḍu* and he maintained a record of all transactions pertaining to his charge. An assembly hall existed in the temple at Tiruchohānūr where the *Adhikāri* held his court to which were summoned the witnesses who had knowledge of the affairs enquired into.

APPENDIX II

The administrative divisions of the kingdom were the *maṇḍalams* or provinces which were divided into *kōṭṭams* or districts, and these *kōṭṭams* were again sub-divided into *nāḍus* or sub-districts which comprised several *kūrrams* formed of a number of villages grouped together. In consonance with this division of the kingdom, the hierarchy of officials must have consisted of the *Adhikārī* over the *maṇḍalam*, next in rank to him the *Perutanattuppanimakan*, over the *kottam* on the analogy of the *Śruttanattuppanimakan* of the *nāḍu* and below the latter the officer in charge of the *kūrram* and lastly the headman of the single village.

No 210—G. T., from Sri Kapilēśvara's temple at the foot of the hill near Tirupatī, records that the central shrine of the temple was constructed by Rāyan-Rājēndra-Sōlan *alias* Brahṃamārāyan-Munaiyadarayan who was the head of *kōṭṭūr* at the time. The name indicates that he was an officer of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I and administered the village of Kōṭṭūr. No traces of this village are now possible, though we find it mentioned in three inscriptions of different dates. The first mention occurs in No 19 T. T. . belonging to the third quarter of the 10th century A.C., the second reference in No 210—G.T. falling into the third quarter of the 11th century and the last in No 355—G.T. dated in the second quarter of the 16th century during the reign of king Achyutarāya of Vijayanagara. From these references it appears that it must have been situated somewhere to the east of Tirupatī and north of Tiruchānūr and its boundaries must have extended

towards Tiruchānūr on the one side and the foot of the hill to the north of Tirupati on the other

Text

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ 'ஸ்ரீகோபபாரதி' திருகேசரிபணமான் 'ஸ்ரீராமேஸ்வர' சொழுவதெவறகு பாண்டு எழாவது கான அதி காரி கொற்றமங்கல முடையான் செயங்கொண்ட சொழமண்டலத்து பெருமபாணப்பாடி திருவெங்கட கொட்டத்து குடலூரூட்டு 'தேவா தேவதானம்' சீருசுகனூரில் காம கிடட கிடடில் முன்பு(ச) கொட்டிலிலே இருந்த கோயில்காரியமாரா[ய*]த இடத்து குடலூரூட்டு வகை செய்கிற சிறுதனத் துப்பணியின்கன கட்டி-
- 2 பபங்குடையானையும் திருவெங்கடதேவா 'கனயிகண்டி' யும் அழைத்து திருவெங்கட[தி]தேவா சிமந்தப்படி உள்ளன சொலுது கொள்ளென்ற வினாவின் இடத்து இத்தேவா தேவதானம் திருமுண்டியத்து ஸ்ரீமேயார பல கலவெட்டியப்படி போன கைக கொண்டு கறியூரில்கரு ஒன்று உட(ப)பட எட்டக் கடவ திருநாதரில்கரு உ[வச] இவைவிறதன் இவர்கள் எரித்து வரும் திருவில்கரு உக்கி இத் திருமுண்டியம் குடிபறகுளையில் திருசுகனூரில் அகப்பட-
- 3 டட முத்துக்கு உடைய போன உவ 'ச' ம இவர்கள் இத்தேவாக்கு பரிசாரகம் செய்த தேவாபண்டாரத்-

1 Read கோ பாகேவளிவந்திரன்

2. Read பரிமாணம்.

3 This may be read *Q10 read*

4. Read $\mathcal{A}^{\mathcal{B}} \rightarrow \mathcal{A}^{\mathcal{B} \rightarrow \mathcal{C}}$

* This symbol stands throughout the inscription for *sheshe*

APPENDIX II

தில் உடைய பொன் ஈ. ௨ ம் ஆகப் பொன் உடைய
 ௨ ம் இவாகள் கடவர்கள் கன்மிகளுககு முட்டாமல்
 நிசதப்படியொமெ கூட எண்ணை கட்டி திருமலைக்கு
 எற்றி எரிப்பிக்க[க்க¹]டவர்களாக நிமந்தம் செய்க
 என்று அதிகாரி கெரற்றமங்கலமுடையான் சொல்ல
 இப்பரிசு திருமுண்டியதது ஸலெய்யார் கடவ திரு-
 னந்தாவிளக்கு(ம்) ¹இவாகள்உடைய பொன்

4 உடைய ௨ ம் இததெவாபண்டாரத்துகரு முதலாககிக்
 கொண்டு இததெவர் பண்டாரததுக்கு திருமலைக்கு
 எற்றி திருனந்தாவிளக்கும கற்பூரவிளக்கு ஒன்று
 உள்பட ²திருவிளக்கு திருவெங்கடதெவாககு ஸ்ரீகாரி-
 யம் செய்வாரும் ³தெவகன்மிகளுமெ ⁴சனூர்தித்த-
 வரை எரிப்பதாக நிவந்தம் செய்தது ஸ்ரீவெங்கடவாக-
 ளொம் உ

Translation

Hail, Prosperity ! On the 7th day in the reign
 of Srī Koppātrakēsarī-panmar alias Srī Rājēndra-
 Sōladēva, while *Adhikārī* (governor) Korraman-
 galamudaiyān enquired into the affairs of the
 temple from his seat in the assembly-hall built by
 us in Tiruchchukanūr, a *dēvadānam* of this God, in
 Kuḍavūr-nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Tiruvēnkata-
 kōṭṭam, (a district comprised in the division) of
 Perumbāṇappāḍi (in the province) of Jāyāṅkonda-
 Sōlamanḍalam, having summoned Kaḍappaṅkudai-

1. Read இவாகளுடைய.
2. Read திருவிளக்கும.
3. Read தேவகலி-களுமே,
4. Read அஞ்சாதிததி—

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yān the Sṛitanattuppanimakan (subordinate administrative officer) who administered the Kudavūr nādu, and the servants of Tiruvēṅkaṭadēvar, and called upon them to depose as to the condition of the permanent daily provision (existing) for Tiruvēṅkatadēvar, they stated that as per the old document registered on stone, the *Sabhaiyūr* of Tirumunḍiyam, a grant to this God received money and undertook to light 24 lamps including one light of camphor, but that the villagers of Tirumunḍiyam discontinued to burn all of them excepting two lights which they still burn

2 Thereupon Adhikāri Koṭṭamanḡalamudai yān ordered that, with the 20 *pon* being the sum available at Tiruchchinnaiyūr and the 3 *pon* remaining in deposit in this deity's treasury (as remuneration) for the *parichūrakam* service rendered by them to this God, aggregating to 23 *pon*, (the ghee) might be well packed and transported to Tirumala along with the articles of daily provision and the servants working in this behalf might be enabled to burn (the lights) without any impediment.

3 Towards this charity of the *nandūviṣakku* therefore, to be maintained by the *Sabhaiyūr* of Tirumunḍiyam, the Srivaishnavas ordered that the 23 *pon* belonging to them shall be credited to the capital fund of this God's treasury, (the ghee) shall be transported to this God's treasury (store house) at Tirumala and the managers of the temple and the servants of Tiruvēṅkaṭadēvar alone shall burn the lights, including the *nandūviṣakku* and one *parpliraviṣakku*, as long as the moon and the sun last

APPENDIX III—(TO VOL. I.)

Extract from the Silappadhikaram.

மதுரைக்காண்டம் :— கக. காடுகாண் காதை.

௩௩. நீலமேகம் நெடும் பொற் குன்றத்துப்
பால்விரிந் தகலாது படிந்தது போல
ஆயிரம் விரிததெழு தலையுடை அருந்திறற்
பாயற் பள்ளி பலர் தொழுதேதத
விரிதிரைக் காவீ வியன் பெருந்துருந்தி
நீருவமர் மார்பன் கிடந்த வண்ணமும்—
வீங்கு நீரருவி ட்வங்கட மென்னும்
ஓங்குயர் மலையத் துச்சி மீமிசை
விரிகதிரா ஞாயிறுந் திங்களும விளங்கி (விளங்கு)
இருமருங் கோங்கிய இடைநிலைத் தானத்தது
மின்னுக் கொடியுடுதது விளங்கு விற்புணடு
நன்னிற மேகம் நின்றது போலப்
பகையணங் காழியும் பால்வெண சங்கமும்
தகைபெறு தாமரைக் கையி னேந்தி
நலங்கிளர் ஆரம் மாபிற பூணடு
பொலம்பூ வாயையிற பொலிந்தது தோன்றிய
செங்கண் நெடியோன் நின்ற வண்ணமும்
என்கண் காட்டென நென்னுளங் கவந்த.

௩௪. வந்தேன குடமலை மாங்காட்டுள்ளேன.

௩௫. தென்னவன் சிறுமலை திகழ்ந்தது தோன்றும்
அம்மலை வலங்கொண டகனபதிச செல்லுமின
அவவழிப் படர் ராயி னிடத்ததுச
செவ்வழி பண்ணிற சிறைவண்டிரற்றும்
தடந்தாழ வயலொடு தண்பூங் காவொடு

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கடம்பல கிடந்த காடுகள் கழிந்த
 திருமலை துறந்ததுச் செவருவீ ராவின்
 பெருமாவ செடுக்கும் பிரமுண டாகரு
 வின்றோர் ஏததும் விபத்தரு மாபிற
 புண்ணிய சாவணம் பவகா ரணியோ
 டுடா சிததி கனாமபெயர் போதி
 விடடு கீதகா விளங்கிய பொயகை
 முடாச் சிறப்பின் முன்றை வாக்ருப

சுருப பிவம்புக வேண்டி ராவின்
 நகருவர் மலைத் துயர்க்கோற ரெருது
 சித்தையில அவனதன் சேவந வைத்து
 வாதனை முமமுறை மலைவளரு செயதால்
 கிலம்பக வீழ்ந்த



APPENDIX IV—(TO VOL. I.)

Note on the probable date of birth of Vijayaditya Banaraya—(See page 107).

From a connected reading of the following three inscriptions the probable date of birth of Vijayaditya Banaraya could be fixed approximately

(1) The Tiruvallum Rock inscription in archaic Grantha in the 62nd regnal year of Nandi Vikrama Varman (Ep Coll 76 of 1899 and S. I I Vol. III, page 90).

(2) Ep. Coll 226 of 1903 in Tamil in the Gudimallam Paramesvara Temple (Chittoor District) in the 49th year of Vijaya Danti Vikrama.

(3) Bana inscriptions in Gudimallam, Ep Coll. 228 of 1902 in the Paramesvara Temple in the 24th year of Nrpatunga Varman.

The first one may be assigned to the year 772 A D Māvali Vānarāya was then ruling the Vaduguvali (twelve thousand) just three years before the death of Nandi Vikrama Varman. From the second one we learn that Vijayāditya was ruling in the 49th year of Danti Vikrama This may be taken to be 823-24 A D The third inscription has to be assigned to the year 873 A D. when Mavali Vanaraya was ruling the (west portion) of the Vaduguvali merku in the 24th year of Nrpatunga. The inference drawn from the above inscriptions is

that Mavali Vijayaditya is the son of Mavali Vanaraya, and that Vijayaditya's son was also known as Mavali Vanarayar, which was his grand father's name. The years before us are 772 A.D., 824 A.D. and 873 A.D. If it is assumed that Vijayaditya was born about 800 A.D., and his son about 840 A.D. the latter would have succeeded the former about 870 A.D. This assumption will give Vijayaditya seventy years of life which is not improbable. Vijayaditya's birth date would therefore have been between 790 and 800 AD.



APPENDIX V—(TO VOL. I.)



English rendering of the relevant portion of the passage in the fifth adhyaya of Mausala parvam of Sri Mahabharatam.

(Translated from the Tamil translation by Vedanta Vibhushanam Karungulam Krishna Sastrigal and edited by Sri M. V. Ramanujachariar Kesari Printing works, Madras).

„He (Sri Krishna) who knew the Tatvas of all things and although He was the Deva (of all creation) decided on the manner of His departing from this Sarira (body) so as to discharge His function of sustaining all the three worlds and also to fulfil the Sāpam (curse) which Durvāsas had pronounced. So Krishna brought under control His Indriyas, speech and manas and lay down into a state of deep Yoga. It (therefore) happened that at that moment a cruel hearted hunter by name Jara who was desirous of bagging a beast sighted the spot where Krishna lay. Jara in his eagerness to have his prey mistook for a beast the Bhagavan who was lying in deep Yoga, and shot his sharp arrow which stuck into the sole of His foot, But when he approached to pick up his prey he found to his surprise that it was a human being with many hands clad in pitāmbara and concentrated in Yoga. Deeply regretting the huge blunder he had commit-

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

ted, he fell at the feet of Sri Krishna and craved for pardon. He was consoled by Sri Krishna in consideration of his birth and his avocation in this life. As a result of his having the good fortune of worshipping the mightiest dēva Krishna with contrition and bhakti he was freed from any future birth and taken by the devas to Svarga. Sri Vāsudeva was then worshipped by all the gathered Munis and (the Spirit) ascended up the heavens with a glow which overspread the worlds. He was given a great ovation in the heavens by Indra, the Asvini devas, the Rudras, the Adityas, the Vasus, Visvē devas, Munis Siddhas the elite of Gandharvas and Apsaras. O Rajan, then Narayana the Bhagavan of dazzling tojas (splendour), who is the Creator the Everlasting one the Yogacharya, and Mahatma ascended to his place of immeasurable greatness, enveloping the earth and heavens with His brilliance. Then all the devas, rishis, charanas, gandharva sreshtas and great apsaras went near Krishna, worshipped and did puja. The devas welcomed His return with great exuberance. Munis sreshtas did puja with (Vedic) Riks and gandharvas stood chanting praises. Indra approached with great love and devotion. Then the devas addressed Him O Bhagavan, who wields the bow Sarngam we do namaskaram to You repeatedly. You made Your avatar on earth to reestablish Dharma. All the enemies of the devas such as Kamsa have been killed and the earth has been lightened of its load of sin. If it is your pleasure to go back to that

APPENDIX V

place which is Divyam (Divyaloka) where there is no old age, where there is limitless mahima and which is beyond our conception, except through the Vedas, in every Kalpa of time, do save the Jivas who are subject to the great disabilities of birth and death. Crowds of devas praised in this manner and as they retraced their steps showered flowers on His Form on which was Sri Devi also. O Rajan! As he entered the centre of the Sun, thence came forth Asariri vāk (a voice from the heavens) "O ye devas, worship ye this Form (which you behold) which has four hands, which is mighty with life, stiff and unchangeable and (which) is on earth. I will always dwell in this" Then all the devas headed by the Great Brahma unable to accompany Him to Paramapadam returned to their own worlds singing His praises with thoughtful devotion.

—:o:—

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